

PEACE NEWS

No. 101

London, May 21, 1938

2d

DEMONSTRATORS RESIST BY NON-VIOLENCE

But Police Fire
and Kill 37

EMPIRE IN ACTION

From Our Own Correspondent

BETUL, Central Provinces, India.

THIRTY-SEVEN people were killed and 48 seriously wounded when police opened fire on an unarmed crowd in a village in the State of Mysore on April 25.

The crowd had gathered to honour the national flag, the hoisting of which had been forbidden by the magistrate. Nevertheless, the crowd proceeded in quite orderly fashion to complete its programme.

HORROR THROUGHOUT INDIA

Armed police were in attendance and the magistrate gave an order to fire upon the unarmed crowd, with the above result.

A thrill of horror has run throughout the length and breadth of India at this treatment of those whose only crime was to honour the flag they had chosen, and which, to them, was a symbol of freedom and honour.

REAL MEANING OF EMPIRE

It is felt that once more the veil has been lifted to show the true nature of the imperialism which Britain has introduced into India.

This imperialism has meant that for 150 years oceans of wealth have been drained away from India to Britain—most of it drawn in the last analysis from the pockets of the starving peasants. Few of them possess pockets at all now.

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THE PEACE PLEDGE UNION PUBLICITY VAN ON TOUR. An open-air meeting on the quayside at Newcastle, showing the new Tyne bridge.



We're Almost 2 Years Old

AND NEARING THE SECOND 10,000

WITH only a fortnight to go to its second anniversary, PEACE NEWS is within reach of a circulation of 20,000 copies weekly.

If this figure is reached—as it can be if sellers will cooperate—it will mean that Britain's first (and only) pacifist newspaper has increased its circulation at the rate of 10,000 in each year of its existence.

The first 10,000 was reached in June last year. Since then the circulation chart has continued its constant move upward, reaching 15,000 for the first time (apart from exceptional occasions) a few weeks before PEACE NEWS was enlarged to its present size.

NEW RECORD

Last week, the hundredth issue, has probably registered a new high record. Although all returns have not yet come in, a sale of over 18,000 seems likely.

This, then, is the situation:—

100th issue ... 18,997

To be reached by week after next ... 20,000

To reach this objective means a special sales drive from now on. Groups can help in this by making special arrangements for street-selling. If this is done the paper will reach the 20,000-mark by June 4.

* * *

And why be satisfied with another 10,000 in the next twelve months? The next few weeks will show what can be done. Let's keep it up and reach 100,000 by Christmas!

Britain's Spies Nearly Trebled in Ten Years

ONE RESULT OF REARMAMENT

FOR every 100 spies working on Britain's behalf in 1929, there are 271 today.

This is the calculation made by Mr. Cecil H. Wilson, MP, who asked in Parliament last week how much had been spent on the Secret Service for each of the last ten years.

Figures given by the Treasury show the following amounts expended under this heading:—

1929	...	£166,031
1930	...	£165,299
1931	...	£168,068
1932	...	£177,681
1933	...	£178,609
1934	...	£178,799
1935	...	£178,592
1936	...	£349,000
1937	...	£350,000
1938	...	£450,000

It was in 1935 that the first announcement of rearmament was made in a White Paper issued by the Government.

G.L. to Reply to Churchill

From Our Own Correspondent

ON Tuesday week a public meeting is to be held in the Free Trade Hall, Manchester, at which the principal speaker will be George Lansbury, supported by Miss Vera Brittain, the Rev. Henry Carter, and Canon Stuart Morris, on "The Alternative to War and Armaments—a reply to Winston Churchill."

It is only a short time since Winston Churchill gave his address in Manchester, and this will be an opportunity for Manchester people to hear the other side of the question—to learn that there is a saner, more practical solution of present world problems than that which Mr. Winston Churchill put forward. Mr. Churchill's speech was the opening of his campaign of meetings urging a policy of "arm—and stand by the Covenant."

Admission will be free, but tickets for reserved seats (6d and 1s.), may be obtained at the Friends' Meeting House, Mount Street; Forsyth Bros. Ltd., Deansgate; Collets' Bookshop, Hanging Ditch; and the Peace Pledge Union Office, 41 John Dalton Street.

"Not Up In the Air"

PRACTICAL PLAN FOR PEACE AT CONVENTION

From Our Own Correspondent

"WE want to contradict the stupid story that pacifists live 'up in the air,'" said Mr. George Lansbury, MP, at a pacifist convention held in Norwich last Saturday.

"You can't say that of Wilfred Wellock and James Hudson and you can't say that of me, because they don't put you in prison because you are 'up in the air.'"

"All the statesmen agreed that a world conference for real appeasement should be called. But no-one would move, except the King of the Belgians, and now President Roosevelt.

SHARING WORLD MARKETS

"The resources of the world must be utilized for the good of all peoples, and colonies and mandates put under international control under the League of Nations, the welfare of the natives, their right to develop a free culture being the first consideration. World markets must be shared."

The convention, which was presided over by Mr. James H. Hudson, was the latest in a series organized by the Parliamentary Pacifist Group. It was held in St. Andrew's Hall and delegates attended from Cambridgeshire, Suffolk and Norfolk.

Lord Sanderson answered some of the arguments commonly used in favour of rearmament, and looked forward to a reformed League of Nations, from which the principle of force had been abolished, and a United States of Europe.

CANNIBALISM AND WAR

Wilfred Wellock illustrated his address with a story about a cannibal tribe.

A reformer arose and said, "Look here, (Continued on page 2, col. 1)

(Continued from Page 1, Col. 4).
let's stop eating our enemies and then they won't eat us."

"That would be fatal," said the reactionaries, "we must keep on eating them so that they can't eat us."
In spite of that dilemma, cannibalism has been abolished in most parts of the world; and war could be abolished too.

TO END HITLER'S RULE

"Take away Hitler's case by offering Germany plain justice," said Dr. Alfred Salter, MP, "and Hitler will topple over."

"So long as the people of Germany continue to feel that their distresses are caused by you, or partly caused by you, they will get ready to fight you." Dr. Alex. Wood reminded his audience that it was Napoleon who had said, "There are two forces in the world, the sword and the spirit, and the sword will always be conquered by the spirit."

He stressed the colossal scale on which we were preparing for war.

So long as the Labour Party acquiesced in this expenditure, so long was it spiking its guns for social reform.

The intention behind ARP was the organizing of a ground auxiliary to the RAF.

Miss Mary Gamble called for disarmament by example, followed by a war against poverty, disease, cruelty, and pride.

PACIFIST M.P.s SATISFIED

Answering a speaker from the floor of the house, who had advocated a separate pacifist political party, Lord Ponsonby said that the Labour pacifist MPs were very well satisfied with the results of their policy of "permeation."

People outside the Party would be rather surprised to learn of the sympathy and support they received from their friends—not merely their friends of the rank and file—within the Party. "I agree," he said, "with another speaker who thinks that things would be better with the Labour Party in power. I agree—with one proviso—that the Prime Minister should be George Lansbury—and the Foreign Secretary should be me."

The effect of British disarmament by example on the world would be stupendous. Disarmament meant security.

The Rev. Dr. B. S. Bonsall, of Norwich, felt that through pacifism the mind of Christ was being brought to bear on the greatest problem of our generation.

INTERVIEW WITH HITLER

George Lansbury ended the conference with a reminiscence of Hitler.

Before he went to see Hitler, he said, he sent him a perfectly simple statement setting out his pacifism, and together they discussed those points of it which he thought were important. Hitler listened intently to what he had to say.

Mr. Lansbury added that he did not understand the reason for Hitler's attitude to the Jews and to Bolshevism and other aspects of his policy; but he felt that such men as he—and in the same category he listed perpetrators of atrocities in war and rebellion—were carried away by a sudden onrush of circumstances from the path of humanity.

But the pacifist needed the same determination, though in another cause, the same grip, the same willingness to stand up to opposition.

HIGHER COST OF LIVING

The cost of living at the end of April was 56 percent higher than in July, 1914, according to the *Ministry of Labour Gazette*. This means a rise of two percent during April. The figures for food only also showed a rise of two percent.

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Loyalty to Hitler—or Dismissal

CHOICE FACING GERMAN PASTORS

WHETHER to take the oath of loyalty to Hitler and obedience to the laws of the State, prescribed for civil servants in Germany, or whether to be dismissed from their charges, is the dilemma of some 10,000 pastors of the German Protestant Church.

They must make up their minds by the end of the month, under a decree issued on Sunday. Pastors who take the oath will be promising unreserved obedience to a church authority they do not recognize.

SUCCESSFUL RESISTANCE

When an attempt was made by the "German Christian" Reich Bishop Müller to impose such an oath in 1934, the Confessional Movement was able to resist successfully, declaring that it was ready to take an oath to a civil, not a church, authority, with a reservation to the effect that their obligations under the oath, did not contravene anything in their ordination vows.

Once again the Confessional Movement is adopting this attitude, and has received official intimation that the authorities see no value in an oath such as the movement would be prepared to take.

Employers and Unions to Discuss Arms Speed-up

The Amalgamated Engineering Union and the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions are to meet engineering employers on Wednesday.

They will discuss what is to be done in connexion with the Government's demand for a speed-up in rearmament—particularly in aeroplane construction.

The unions declare that it is unlikely that they will put forward any proposals at this first meeting, except with the object of ensuring that the industry finds out how many skilled men are available for arms work and what works could be adapted to the Government's purposes.

Essential Points in the P.P.U. MANIFESTO

THE Peace Pledge Union, founded by Dick Sheppard on the basis of the pledge: "We renounce war and will never support or sanction another," makes this appeal to all who seek peace within and between the nations:

The pledge to renounce war, involving as it does the refusal to allow governments to make use of the weapons of violence in support of foreign policy, leads inevitably to the necessity for a new foreign policy, based on economic appeasement and reconciliation.

The most pressing need is to take immediate steps which will lead ultimately to the establishment of a really serviceable League of Nations.

The new League must be based on provisions designed to meet the economic requirements of the large masses of poverty-stricken people to be found in varying degree among all nations of the earth. The satisfaction and security of each and every nation must be, and can be, obtained in the well-being of all.

Now is the time when every democrat should concentrate upon and call his government to confront the real and pressing economic needs of the people of the world.

The maintenance of imperial interest and economic advantage for ourselves literally means that we are living at the expense of the people of other countries. It also necessitates domination, which makes peace impossible.

The Van Zeeland Report has been drawn up by a statesman appointed by the governments of Britain and France to consider the economic and political causes of friction in the world. M. Van Zeeland's conclusions should be investigated at once. They may be modified. He provided for that.

When the causes are faced, a solution, which could both meet the needs of hungry nations, raise the standard of life and secure the rights of native peoples, will be found possible in other terms than those of war.

We urge that a new peace treaty should be drawn up, this time before another war begins, instead of after it, when hideous consequences must lead to increased hatred, increased revenge and renewed conflict—if, indeed, civilization survives.

Public Affairs COMMENTARY

Henlein in England

HERR HENLEIN'S purely "private" visit must have included, at the least, an attempt to test the political atmosphere of this country with regard to Czechoslovakia. It is denied that he received any of the official Government opinions which—as a mere minority leader—he cannot openly seek. But after his private conversation with Sir Robert Vansittart he may have been able to make a fair guess.

Mr. Winston Churchill, whom he also saw, presumably stood for that part of the National wing which still mentions the League of Nations, and which might in some circumstances become actively rebellious.

If Mr. Churchill supports a Czechoslovakian settlement, it is unlikely that there will be a Government split on the question.

At Bristol on Monday, Mr. Churchill was hopeful that the Sudeten-Deutsch will become "trusted and honoured partners in the most progressive and democratic of the new States in Europe."

This hopefulness can only be taken as a good omen. It means that steps toward conciliation will almost certainly be taken.

It must be hoped that they will be taken in good faith, and not with the intention of finding later justification for an armed seizure.

Insurance Without Premium

THE other remarkable feature of Mr. Churchill's speech was his suggestion that the League Powers should offer Germany League support against aggression, irrespective of German membership of the League.

The offer is less striking at a moment when most nations are arranging their alliances irrespective of whether they are or are not, even themselves, members of the League.

That guarantee may be given, but more probably within some triple or quadruple pact than by the League of Nations as such.

What may be doubted is whether any great proportion of the League supporters in this country have any desire to guarantee German safety. Their thoughts lately seem to have been in rather the opposite direction.

The English Saved Him

BEFORE Dr. Woermann returned to Germany from London he fulfilled one of his heart's desires. With his friend at the Embassy, Dr. Hess, he went to the Lizard and one day walked along the coast to Mullion.

Hess fought at Paschaendale. He was so severely wounded that he was operated on twelve times before being brought in captivity to England. In Devon he was again operated on four times by a brilliant surgeon. His chances of recovery were one in twenty.

Today, Dr. Hess will relate with gratitude how the English surgeons saved his life. When we think of the millions of pounds spent in trying to destroy his life at Paschaendale we can see how daft war is.

Terrifying Inadequacy

THE Ministerial changes are referred to, with considerable contradiction, both as "a clean sweep" and as "a reshuffle."

The latter is the more accurate phrase. The changes are a new deal but the pack is the same, well thumbed and rather worn at the edges.

The feverish nature of the armament race is lamentably demonstrated by the panic in every quarter on this question of air "defence."

"Our terrifying air force," it has been called. It certainly seems to be terrifying, by its inadequacy, both Right and Left in the House.

It is terrifyingly inadequate, but not in quite the same way as the political parties see it. It is fearfully, ludicrously inadequate as an insurance for peace; not by its smallness or ineffectiveness, but because it is the evidence of fear, hatred and suspicion—the backward-looking of a Government that has not learnt the evil and futility of power politics.

We are inclined to fear the inadequacy of our terrifying Government more than the deficiencies of its terrifying programme.

Opinion of the Press

THE press has greeted the changes with ingenuity or a spirit of "I told you so," according to its political complexion.

The *Times* finds, on the one hand, that the changes are salutary and dutifully bolsters up Mr. Chamberlain's argument that Lord Swinton's seat in the Lords rather than any incompetence is the cause of his departure.

The *News Chronicle*, from the other side, regrets that the changes have not been more fundamental, but thinks that Mr. Chamberlain has been wise in not retaining Lord Swinton. To the *News Chronicle* the reason for Lord Swinton's disappearance lies in the fact that he lacked the vigour required for his office, and not because he is a Peer of the Realm.

And so on.
The most interesting comment of all was in the *Daily Express*, which used the opportunity to write an exhortatory article to Mr. MacDonald in his new capacity of Secretary to the Colonies.

The *Express* article quite frankly refers to the Empire as an asset to be farmed and a market to be tapped. It is a more honest article than the all too common type referring to our glorious heritage and our duty to the natives.

It should make good reading in Germany.

Unjustified Optimism?

THE press, on the whole, is optimistic about the results of Herr Henlein's unofficial visit and interviews.

A Czech visitor I spoke to this weekend remained unimpressed.

"There was a similar optimism after the Berchtesgaden talks," he said. "Let us hope this time the optimism has a sounder basis."

Significant also was the fact that when Marshal Smigly-Rydz, Inspector-General of the Polish army, returned to Warsaw on Monday, after a fortnight's absence, it became known that he had been in the neighbourhood of the Polish-Czechoslovakian frontier.

Talk of troop movements was also persistent.

Government's Plans

THE Czechoslovak Foreign Minister is expected to explain his Government's attitude in a statement on Tuesday.

The spending of £3,550,000 during this year on public works has been approved, and forty percent of this is to be spent in the Sudeten German district, local contractors and labour being given preference.

Splitting Tactics

ITALO-FRENCH conversations are not going on at all well, due to the fact that, as Mussolini said in his latest speech, the two countries are "on different sides of the barricade" so far as Spain is concerned.

The ease with which Mr. Chamberlain was able to secure his agreement with Italy is thus a good guide to the British Government's real policy on the Spanish question.

In Paris it is felt that Mussolini is now trying (as Hitler has done before him) to detach France from Britain, and that the British Government has not troubled to discourage him.

There is little doubt that the British Government would be pleased if France could be led to acquiesce in a speedy Franco victory in Spain, but another Cabinet crisis here may soon put an end to that policy.

Sensitiveness

DAMAGES were awarded in court this week to a firm whose products were advertised by aeroplane during the Armistice silence of last year.

The pilot explained that he had forgotten it was Armistice Day.

The unhappy incident led to letters threatening boycott of the advertised products.

In view of this sensitiveness on the part of the general public, it is interesting to wonder what would happen to the two minutes' silence if—to use the fashionable periphrase—a state of emergency existed.

U.S.A.

STUDENTS
REFUSE
MILITARY
DRILL

"COMPULSORY Reserve Officers' Training Corps drill is conscription. We who are determined that we will not support such warfare see no utility in acquiring the skill with which to conduct it.

"Furthermore, we look upon the ROTC as an 'educational' device for conscripting minds as well as bodies for a war that cannot be ours."

A group of pacifists in Cornell University, USA, printed this condemnation in their own periodical, *The Conscientious Objector*.

"WE QUIT
R.O.T.C. TRAINING"

"Appeals against compulsion have been rejected," they continue. "Rather than surrender to conscription, we stand by our convictions.

"We openly quit ROTC training on the same grounds for which many other persons object to it in theory. We urge others to express their convictions in the same manner."

HEROES OF PEACE
REMEMBERED

May 30 is recognized in America as Memorial Day. The Peace Heroes Memorial Society will continue its efforts this year to demilitarize this holiday and will hold its annual service of remembrance for heroes and heroines of every-day life.

Canada

New Idea in Propaganda

The Vancouver, British Columbia, group of the Fellowship of Reconciliation is developing a new technique in propaganda.

The group sends open letters to newspapers, inviting people to write direct to the group. These letters are then followed up to make new converts.

The Capitol by Night



Eric Sly, 6 Wilmer Way, London, N.14, was also in America and took much the same picture as that we published on March 26, but by night, when flood-lighting makes the Capitol, Washington, as striking as by day.

France

THEY THINK IT'S 10 to 1
AGAINST THE AXIS

From a Correspondent

PARIS. THE French have followed with keen interest the developments in the conversations between Hitler and Mussolini in Rome. The general attitude has been one of scepticism concerning the solidarity of the Rome-Berlin axis, which must have been stretched almost to breaking point by the Anschluss of March 12.

One little incident was remarked especially in the French papers.

It appears that when the German anthem was played on one occasion, something like one arm in ten was raised in the fascist salute. For the Italian anthem immediately afterward every other arm was raised without hesitation.

This may have little significance in

itself, but it has been seized upon here as proof of the real feeling toward Germany in Italy—a feeling of resentment against a never-satisfied Germany.

MUSSOLINI'S DELICATE
POSITION

The French say that Italy's natural inclination is toward the other Latin races, that is to say, toward France herself.

Mussolini finds himself in a very delicate position in spite of the loud assertions to the contrary being made in Rome, but now that he has got what he wanted—a formal declaration of the inviolability of his northern frontier—he will surely continue his more natural course toward friendship with France and Great Britain.

At least, that was how they felt before Mussolini's speech on Saturday!

Germany

"PEACE NEWS"
WELCOMED

FROM a letter received by an English correspondent from a friend in Germany:—

Thank you so much for your letter and all the magazines (*PEACE NEWS*).

I must tell you quite honestly that I am deeply impressed and very much moved and that I admire the courage.

I do not quite see how many things would work practically, but I suppose I shall learn more about it and I shall gratefully and eagerly study anything which you will send me.

I read a lot aloud and translated it and I always found very attentive and appreciative listeners.

New Zealand

Street Collection
for the
Navy League

Some years ago the Christchurch City Council decided to restrict street collections to organizations with purely philanthropic aims. For a number of years even charitable institutions have found it difficult to obtain permission to hold collections.

Nevertheless, the Navy League was granted permission to hold a street collection recently.

"Support your navy—it has always supported you" was the slogan used in press advertisements.

"The city council will find it decidedly difficult to refuse permission to the peace organizations of the city should they apply for permission to hold collections," commented the *Peace Record*.

Efforts are now being made in New Zealand to secure the formation of a branch of the Peace Pledge Union there.

Norway

War Resisters Find a Ready
Response to their
Message

From Our Own Correspondent

MEMBERS of the Norwegian branch of the War Resisters' International are at present concentrating their efforts on the international WRI Youth Camp to be held in Norway from July 18 to 25.

This branch has only recently been formed but it immediately became active.

New signatures to the war resisters' pledge are still being received as a result of a public meeting held in Oslo at the beginning of last month.

The meeting was given excellent publicity, and the response was spontaneous. Many young university students, especially men, are now joining, and the present membership is between two and three hundred.

THEIR OWN
PUBLISHING HOUSE

A WRI Publishing House has just been organized and various publications are

being planned: first of all translations of English WRI literature, of de Lig's *Plan of Campaign against all war*, Aldous Huxley, and so on. Members are trying to organize efficient cooperation with other peace organizations in Norway and with WRI Publishing Houses in Denmark and Sweden, for the mass spreading of peace literature all over Scandinavia.

Spain

HOW INTERVENTION
CAN HELP

"What the Spaniards learn from abroad they will not soon forget, and long after the civil war is over they themselves will be carrying on the activities to which foreigners can now introduce them."

This opinion is expressed in a report, entitled *War Relief in Spain*, published jointly by the American Friends Service Committee and the American Unitarian Association. Besides relieving suffering, it is pointed out, relief workers from abroad can raise the standards of health administration and of education, teach new techniques in industry and new possibilities in diet and housing.

Americans have been carrying out relief work in republican as well as nationalist territory.

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WRITE FOR OTHER LITERATURE
AND INFORMATION OF THE WORK.

THE PUBLICITY VAN IN NEWCASTLE

THE weekend visit of the PPU Publicity Van to Newcastle-on-Tyne has been a great step forward in the work of presenting pacifism to the "man in the street," and has given a tremendous encouragement to the local groups.

With "Bill Berry" of Durham as principal speaker, the campaign of open-air meetings started on the Friday evening at North Shields. Saturday's meetings were at Ashington, Gateshead and Newcastle, and on the Sunday morning the van took up its position among the stalls and try-your-strength machines at the open market on the Quayside. The campaign ended with an excellent meeting on the Sunday evening on the Town Moor at Newcastle where a crowd of nearly two hundred stayed to listen in spite of the bitter cold wind.

HOW TO DRAW CROWDS

The best meetings were those held near to thoroughfares where people were constantly passing within sight of the van and the audience; without these conditions it was found impossible to draw a crowd even by poster parades in adjoining main streets.

However on the whole the meetings were a great success and the interest aroused was shown by the variety of questions put to the speaker: what was the attitude of the PPU to the war in Spain, to social evils, politics, Christianity: were we financed by the fascists, what would we do if someone

tried to violate our wives and children; did we pay income tax and if so how did we square that with pacifism; hadn't Great Britain already disarmed once and found that it didn't work; what did we think about collective security; and a host of similar inquiries.

FEW FAITHFUL HECKLERS

There were one or two faithful hecklers who followed the van to all its Newcastle meetings.

And there was the drunk man at North Shields who went away in the middle of the meeting shouting abusive remarks about the PPU, and was quite taken aback and calmed when the speaker asked him in a friendly way to come and state his objections before he left.

And the previously unknown PPU member at Ashington who was so delighted when quite unexpectedly she found a PPU van had parked in front of her shop that she came out, and then and there gave a most handsome donation to the organizer.

And the man selling the Daily Worker who after listening to the speaker came up and asked if he might help to distribute leaflets.

And then long after the meetings had ended people stayed on in small groups having the most lively discussions with PPU members and supporters.

Thousands of leaflets were distributed and PEACE NEWS was sold to the crowds, and it is certain that over the weekend speakers gained the interest and sympathy and in some cases the full support of hundreds of people who had never before heard of the PPU.

A Year of Weekly Poster Parades

By DON LEANEY

DURING the last three days of Coronation Week, 1937, the PPU organized a series of poster parades. As the last few volunteers were saying "Good-bye" on the Saturday evening, one of them said, "It is a pity we can't do this sort of thing more often."

After a short conversation, about half a dozen agreed to meet at the PPU office on the following Saturday. A few discarded sandwich boards were found; arrangements were made to have them left on the sixth floor each Friday evening and, on May 22, 1937, the "weekly Peace Parade" was started.

Every Saturday since then, with one or two exceptions, a band of volunteers, varying from three to sixteen, has left Regent Street at about 7 p.m.

In July, 1937, the parade was given a key to the sixth floor and a dozen of the poster boards which had been used at the Hendon Air Display were purchased and are still in use. They have been carried for some 250 miles along the busiest streets of the West End and have been on view for at least 200 hours each.

HALF-A-CROWN FOR IT?

The leading poster, which reads, "Dick Sheppard's Work Goes On," attracts considerable attention, and on one occasion the wearer was offered half-a-crown for it.

Experience has shown that it is safer to keep to the right side of the road and that the best results are obtained by walking very slowly. In this way it has been possible to get talking to many people, and on one evening thirteen pledges were obtained, although everybody was urged not to sign until they were sure about the matter. On another

evening fifteen penny and two three-penny booklets were sold.

A large number of PEACE NEWS is sold each week by the last person of the parade. Thirty-nine by one person is the record. Street selling, apart from the parade, has also been done. Over one hundred copies were sold in one week—one member spending 23 hours selling in seven days.

During the Promenade Concert Season at the Queen's Hall, selling to the queues was organized, with excellent results. It is hoped to increase these activities this year.

One of the most regular and enthusiastic helpers of the "weekly Peace Parade" was originally introduced to the idea of pacifism by a PEACE NEWS sold to him near Leicester Square by one of the paraders.

POSTER LEAD TO FIGHT

On one occasion two men started to fight in Tottenham Court Road as a result of a dispute arising from the poster, "Defending this Country only means Attacking Another." On another occasion the parade developed into an open-air meeting in Leicester Square, with half a dozen lecturers.

The parade now leaves 96 Regent Street at 6.45 p.m., returning at 8.15 p.m. for refreshments, which are sold at very reasonable prices—any profits being put toward the cost of the leaflets distributed. During this interval many peace problems are discussed.

At 8.45 p.m. those with sufficient energy set out on another parade. It has been found that more useful work is done later in the evening, people being more ready to enter into discussion and show more interest.

These parades have been maintained mainly by the persistence of a few enthusiasts who have come along Saturday after Saturday. It is hoped that in future more volunteers will be forthcoming. Arrangements can be made for volunteers to enter or leave the parades at any time. In addition to the parades every Saturday, there will also be one on the second Thursday of each month.

Picture on back page.

Under the Oak Tree

By LEOARD READ
(on behalf of the Basque Fund)

LAST week the Easter holidays ended and the children are looking back on a varied and enjoyable break. The housecleaning of which we have written already, was only a part of the programme; and here are some brief notes on the excursions they have had.

The most appreciated was a visit to a Colchester cinema. They had been to cinemas at home and fortunately knew the two chief stars—Shirley Temple and Grace Moore. "Seerlie Temple" is as much a Spanish child's favourite as an English child's. All are in some degree aficionados of the clever little girl who is, perhaps, so popular because she realizes what most children would like to be and do—grown-up-ness.

After a little reflection on the essentials of cinematic presentation it is not incredible that they were able to follow the general drift of the story, the wickedness of the governess, and to sigh at the pained little Heidi stolen away from him on a snowbound night.

Trips to the River Colne have started again, to the general satisfaction. The latest have given us a delightful two-mile country walk in warm sunshine, along lanes with sprouting hedgerows, and with views across the valley to the hills beyond. It is de rigueur to say of a hike that "of course the conversation was the most important thing of all." We never stopped talking, it is true, exchanging trivialities and vocabularies; but we went for a swim really, and lost no time in plunging in once we had arrived.

Our pool is a bend in the river, constantly dredged by the flow; it provides us with a deep end for diving and a shallow end for beginners. When only the lardy swimmers are left in the water, the rest assemble on the bank to watch the aquatic battles that take place.

The boys are still playing football and have introduced a version for a few players that would seem the soccer counterpart of "seven-a-side." Each side takes it in turn to kick the ball once. This may be done before the ball stops when the gain in ground is offset by the greater difficulty in kicking. Heading the ball gives the right to a kick in addition. It encourages long, low kicks, and is good training for backs, but it makes a game for six or eight an even contest. I don't know whether it is original, but is worth copying.

The last of the house cleaning jobs was the windows, and, in the warm sunny weather we have had, was almost an outing. Helpers readily volunteered and would have done more than sacar brillo (polish) for the thrill of climbing up ladders and in and out of window frames. Not a hair of their heads was hurt in all the two days' work. The acreage of glass cleaned has not been calculated, but we know that the total could not take into account the increased work barred windows give.

All donations should be sent to Basque Fund, Peace Pledge Union, 96 Regent Street, W.1. They will be most gratefully received.

News from the Four Corners

HOME COUNTIES

Members of the Kingston group took part in the local May Day Procession and were joined by representatives from Golders Green, Surbiton, Raynes Park, and Shepherd's Bush.

They were preceded by a green and gold banner made by members of the Kingston group, and those who followed carried posters. PEACE NEWS was sold and nearly one thousand copies of the Manifesto were distributed.

Last week saw the opening of the Kingston Book Shop and reading room at 15 Penrhyn Road, Kingston-on-Thames.

LONDON

Dr. Leighton Yates opened a discussion on "ARP and the Schools" organized by the Hampstead branch last week. Dealing with the matter from the technical side only at first, he showed the utter inadequacy of the Government's plans for defence.

Mrs. Wood, of the National Union of Women Teachers, urged teachers to press on for really adequate defence measures and if possible for a wholesale evacuation scheme for children in industrial centres in time of war.

Mr. Aylmer Rose showed how participation in ARP would lull the public into a false sense of security.

Dr. Leighton Yates said his opening remarks had been made as a scientist, but he was more than a scientist, he was also a human being and a citizen and he was convinced that the only safe as well as the only human policy was not to have air war. He stressed the vocation of the teacher whose duty was to bring the child up in truth and help to build a new nation where war and the thought of war was impossible.

NORTH-WEST

Stockport has had a busy time lately. A new group has been formed making the fifth in that area. Groups are meeting regularly and there has been a marked increase in group activities.

Group representatives and other keen members meet monthly for a council meeting when schemes for propaganda are discussed and planned. Leaflets dealing with ARP have been extensively distributed, and it is hoped that in time every signatory in the district will have received a personal call with an invitation to join in the activities.

SOUTH-EAST

A lively attempt is being made to put new fire into the Tonbridge group. They are following the line of action suggested by the their new secretary, Miss Audrey K. Jupps, who believes in establishing direct personal contact with the individual member.

Fortnightly meetings are now being held in the Masonic Hall, and arrangements are in hand for an open-air meeting to be held in conjunction with Tunbridge Wells in the summer.

SCOTLAND

John Barclay asked for a busy time when he visited Dundee on Thursday of last week—and he got it. In the afternoon he addressed a meeting of eighty doctors, teachers, and students arranged by the Student Christian Movement of the Varsity and Training College.

Next task was "cutting the sod" for the first of a series of poster boards which the group is arranging for different parts of the town. The board was erected in a prominent position on one of the local football fields.

In the evening John Barclay was the guest of honour at a social for the local groups which was attended by almost one hundred members of the PPU. A local pacifist councillor, Dr. Saggat, also spoke. Conjuring, singing, and dancing comprised the lighter side of the evening.

WALES

At a recent meeting of the Cardiff regional committee it was decided that a peace stall should be opened in the grounds at the Welsh National Eisteddfod, which will be held during the first week in August.

It was also decided to combat an ARP demonstration at Cardiff Aerodrome on May 28 with a poster parade and the sale of PEACE NEWS. Any South Wales workers who would like to give a hand should get into touch with Mrs. W. Goodfellow, 3 Marlborough Road, Cardiff.

Arrangements have been made to open the peace stall in the Cardiff Market on Friday evenings in future. This will mean three days a week. To enable workers to do this, Miss Olive Bickley of the FoR has offered to be responsible for the Thursday opening of the stall. Any other assistance from FoR members would be invaluable in this direction.

NOTICE BOARD

Arrangements have been made between Streatham, Battersea, and Wandsworth groups whereby outdoor meetings are held every Sunday as follows:—Clapham Common —3 p.m.; Streatham Common—6.30 p.m.

The War Resisters' International urgently needs help with translation work between Bulgarian and English. Anyone able to offer assistance kindly communicate with the Secretary, WRI, 11 Abbey Road, Enfield, Middlesex.

Volunteers required for poster parade on May 28. Meet outside Herne Hill station at 7 p.m.

Pacifists are invited to assist in a demonstration at the Kenley, Surrey RAF aerodrome on Empire Air Day, May 28. Write to K. Clark, "Lyneth," Farnet Close, Purley. All pacifists in north-east Surrey are requested to support this effort.

Glasgow.—Wanted, urgently, enthusiastic member to organize street-selling of PEACE NEWS. Also names of volunteers to go on a rota of sellers for minimizing the amount of labour per volunteer—also poster-paraders.—Write, Henry A. Barter, 181 Pitt Street, Glasgow, C.2

Miss Kathleen Hoskin, 2 Quintrel Road, Newquay, Cornwall, would be glad to hear from pacifists intending to visit Newquay and district during the summer months; more especially those willing to take part in meetings and demonstrations.

Volunteers urgently needed outside aerodrome, at Castle Bromwich, Birmingham, on May 28 (Empire Air Day) for poster parading and leaflet distribution. Meet at "Tyburn House" at 2 p.m.

A Member writes on

Selling "Peace News" Outside Theatres

I should like to suggest that groups who are visiting *The Insect Play*, or other plays, should take a supply of PEACE NEWS. We sold fifteen copies in 1½ hours outside the Playhouse Theatre and also distributed copies of the manifesto to people in the queues.

WINIFRED M. BOYCE.

"River View,"
Lower Ham Road,
Kingston-on-Thames.

Pacifists Unite for Big Campaign In East London

From Our Own Correspondent

WITH a view to bringing the various pacifist groups in the area into closer touch with one another, an East London Pacifist Convention was held at Stratford Congregational Church, under the chairmanship of the Rev. G. Lloyd Phelps, chairman of the East London Council of Christian Pacifist Groups, and was attended by delegates from every part of East London, representing forty groups of the Peace Pledge Union, Fellowship of Reconciliation, other Christian Pacifist Organizations, and the Women's Cooperative Guild.

The notice of the convention made it clear that no fresh organization, or even a coordinating committee for East London was contemplated, but that it was felt that pacifist propaganda generally would be more effective if the efforts of the various organizations could be coordinated and simultaneously developed over a larger area.

CLOSER RELATIONSHIP

It was unanimously resolved on the motion of the Rev. H. N. Horne, chairman of the East London (South) Council of the FoR, seconded by Mr. Charles Tifford, chairman of the Leyton group of the PPU—

(a) That having regard to the unity of purpose of the pacifist and cooperative groups represented at this convention, we consider that while each group must maintain its freedom of action, it is very desirable that all groups should be drawn into closer relationship. We consider that arrangements should be made whereby groups should work within a general plan to be mutually agreed, and that the time has arrived when a concerted pacifist campaign in East London would be advantageous to the movement as a whole.

(b) That the convention should forthwith consider the steps which should be taken to give effect to resolution (a).

CORPORATE ACTION

It was arranged for the delegates to discuss local needs with the representatives of the other organizations in their areas.

It was apparent that corporate action in many parts of London was already taking place; particularly between the PPU and FoR, and this it was felt could be further extended.

The following were some of the lines along which it was hoped to make this cooperation more effective:—

by setting up small coordinating committees in the various areas; by an interchange of speakers so that the various approaches to pacifism might be generally understood, to be followed by the preparation of a panel of speakers for the whole of East London, copies of which would be supplied to all secretaries, thus making it always possible for a group of speakers to be obtained for a meeting, likely to meet all the requirements of an audience; by joining together for poster parades, the running of peace shops and peace stalls, and in running regular open-air meetings.

AUTUMN RALLY

It was decided that arrangements should be made for an East London Pacifist Rally in the autumn, to be preceded throughout the summer by intensive activity over the whole area with a particularly active week or fortnight prior to the rally. Preparations for this activity would be proceeded with now.

In connexion with the panel of speakers referred to above, it was arranged that Mr. Wallace Hancock, 21 Raymond Avenue, London, E.18, should act as a kind of "clearing house," and names, addresses, organizations, &c., of speakers should be sent to him, and as soon as possible a list will be compiled and sent to all secretaries in East London.

Group Notes

DEVELOPMENTS IN SCOTLAND

By JOHN BARCLAY

WE are far too solemn, as a race and as a species. I am constantly being reprimanded for not taking life seriously. I am told that Hitler is a "mad dog" and may do all sorts of terrible things—is doing them now—and therefore I must look serious. In the first place I do not believe that Hitler is a mad dog, nor do I think that because life under a dictator is grim I must be grim too. I find that people respond to gaiety and when they are gay they are delightful. No one takes me seriously, so that I cannot even pretend to be solemn, and so I find everyone I meet delightful.

Last week I spent three days in Scotland. During those three days I visited Edinburgh, Dundee and Glasgow. The groups in all these towns are full of vitality but pining for a vigorous campaign to counteract the deadly inertia which seems to be creeping over public life owing to the inability of anyone to break the vicious circle of fear.

The same story is told in Scotland as in Wales and England. Everyone gloomily accepting the increase in prices, the cost of living going up because of armaments and no feeling of security or faith that it is any good or that it will lessen the very real danger of war.

PPU members are convinced that our policy of reconciliation and appeasement should be brought before the public much more widely and that money should be spent on advertising and publicity generally. The local groups are all working hard and could expand if given a determined lead from the centre, as well as the moral support of seeing other groups doing the same.

I sensed a certain amount of criticism that we at head office are not planning far enough ahead, and I am sometimes ashamed when I realize that all the work that is done up and down the country is done by people who are slaving all day in dull "bread-and-butter" jobs which sap a great deal of

their vitality. We do owe them a great debt of gratitude and a heavy responsibility rests on our shoulders.

We are conscious of it and I am certain that the lead they are looking for is there to be given. I would ask that our job at Regent Street be made less difficult by an even closer linking of groups. Dundee is already thinking in terms of regional planning, and I hope we shall soon have a Scottish office in Glasgow and a Peace Centre in Edinburgh.

To illustrate how much the PPU is respected in Scotland's capital, I will describe the following true incident. As I had two hours to spare before catching my train to Dundee, I decided to climb to the Castle. No sooner had I reached the gates than a salute of 21 guns was fired (the only other reason for this besides the arrival of the Group Organizer was the fact that it was the anniversary of Coronation Day).

Planning for the Future

In order to get a composite picture of work being done, will every group leader send me a list of activities in the order in which they loom largest on their agendas. For clarity, I suggest listing them as follows:—

Meetings (indoor).
Meetings (open air).
Poster parades
Canvassing.
Selling PEACE NEWS.
Leaflet distribution.

Study circles (general).
Training (non-violence).
Writing to the Press.
Contact making
(other organizations).

Dramatics.
Socials.
Garden parties.
Concerts.
Play readings, &c.

If there are any activities which are not covered by these headings, please add them to your list and be careful to put them in order of time spent on each.

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The Labour Party

NO-ONE can deny the immense influence which the Labour Party can and does exert in the public outlook of our times. It is because of this immense influence that pacifists so deeply regret that the Party has departed from its old pacifist standpoint.

But pacifists have no-one to blame but themselves. As pacifists have withdrawn from active and organized political activity, it is inevitable that pacifism should find less and less of its outlook expressed in current Labour Party policy.

We have no right to ask others to do our thinking for us. We have no ground for complaint that the Labour Party is giving us nothing positive if we ourselves have nothing positive to suggest.

Our aim must be the creation of those conditions of human relationships which will make war unthinkable even for those who are not avowed pacifists. The Labour Party aim even today is not so very far off. The party's official policy is still "to establish peace, freedom and justice by removing from among nations the root causes of international disputes, by conciliation and arbitration, by renouncing war as an instrument of national policy, by disarmament, by political and economic cooperation . . ."

We profoundly differ from the party in some of the methods proposed . . . but what are we going to do about it? Are we going to retire like hermits to our caves and leave the wicked politicians to rule and destroy mankind or have we enough faith and conviction in ourselves to make some effort to get this great political movement back to its old point of view which is still ours?

IF we enter the political arena we have a right to insist that we do so on our own terms based upon our principles to which we shall fearlessly adhere regardless of considerations of political expediency. But apart from this we should be prepared to play our part on the widest possible basis. There is neither room nor future in British politics for any narrow sectarian movement.

The doors of the Labour Party are wide open for pacifist opinion, and there is nothing in the constitution or the traditions of the Labour Party which need prevent pacifists from joining and playing their full part in the work and activities of the party.

There are difficulties, but if properly approached there are no reasons whatever why pacifists should not again assume the intellectual leadership of the Labour movement.

The traditions of British socialism are pacifist. Historically, it has always set its face both against international war and against class war, and this marks a fundamental difference between continental and our socialist movement.

Today in its political sections, the pacifist traditions are still very alive, but weak owing to the fading influence of pacifist leadership. A pacifist movement can regain the leadership if it will take account of the recent developments of the party and the workings of the party constitution. The constitution is by no means simple and its working baffles its own active membership, but the fact remains that it offers no permanent obstacles to any sincere movement which is in harmony with the party's traditions.

THE basis of the party is that it is a federation of industrial labour represented by the trade unions and political socialism as represented by the Independent Labour Party in former times, but now by the local Labour

Party organizations. It was the ILP which was the pacifist socialist organization which gave the Labour Party its pacifist traditions and its political outlook.

With the growth and development of the local parties, the ILP lost its influence, but the local Labour Parties have not yet achieved that influential position which the old ILP enjoyed. The dominant influence rests now with the trade unions, who are essentially non-political and have little political instinct.

It is, in fact, this non-political domination which has robbed the party of its political vitality, and it is not saying too much that there is little future for the Labour Party till it is again under the inspiration and guidance of its political section represented by the local Labour Parties.

To make this possible the local parties must themselves be vital and conscious of a common unity and a common purpose. Today this is absent and it

individual members and as isolated units become active.

To meet the conditions of political activity in the Labour Party, a closely knit, strongly organized pacifist organization would be essential having one aim and object, namely, to convert the Labour Party to pacifism in accordance with its constitution and practice.

This is what the ILP did with amazing success, and though conditions have altered and the ILP practice would not apply today, the ILP method is well worth studying.

When the local Labour Parties were established, the ILP retained its own distinct organization with its own branches, and its own conference, in order that it should maintain its pacifist identity. As a socialist body it considered the development of socialist thought and it carried on a general propaganda both inside, alongside and outside of the Labour Party.

Most of the branches held regular

A PERSONAL POINT OF VIEW

By Ben Greene

offers the pacifist his greatest opportunity, as pacifism alone is capable of reuniting and revitalizing the local parties.

IT may well be argued, in view of the voting strength of local parties in the annual party conference, that local party influence will always be subordinated to the overwhelming voting strength of the industrial section.

I do not think there is much in this argument. When the local parties are weak, hesitant and divided as they are today, then the block vote carries the day. But on any issue on which local parties are determined and united, they have had their way in the end and will in future get their way.

It is a historic fact that the ILP exerted its enormous influence in the Labour Party with a voting strength infinitely less than the voting strength of local parties today. The ILP never had more than 25,000 votes, but the local parties have a conference vote of no less than 250,000. The local parties have now also the right to elect their own representatives into the National Executive of the Labour Party, a source of influence which the ILP did not have after the war.

There is today an immense opening for pacifist influence inside the local Labour Parties. It is almost entirely neglected. The only intellectual activity now being carried on comes from left-wing sources based upon class-war outlook.

But this left-wing activity, despite its great energy and drive, is hampered and discouraged by the pacifist traditions which so strongly persist. What the left wing can do, an organized pacifist movement could accomplish with much greater success, as it will be with and not against the traditions of the party.

HOW can a political pacifist movement exert its influence on the local Labour Parties? It is clearly not enough for pacifists to join the local party as

weekly meetings where, apart from ordinary business, speakers addressed the members and general discussion took place so that a pacifist-socialist body of opinion was kept in constant touch with contemporary events. The members of the branches were expected to attend ward and local Labour Party meetings and to a very large extent local parties were officered by the ILP membership, who thus used not only their membership but their influence to keep Labour members informed of the ILP point of view.

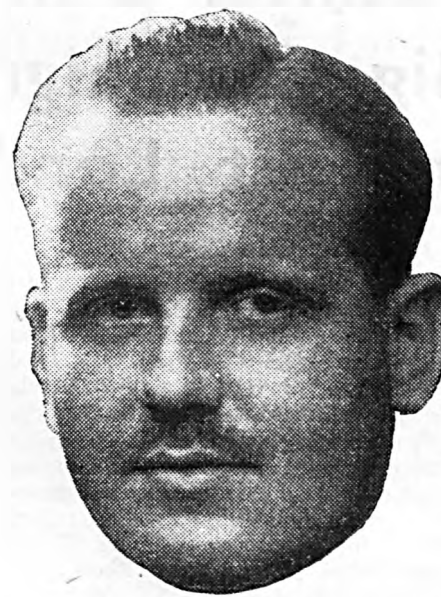
It was the ILP weekly papers that were sold in the Labour Parties, and to this day the Labour Party has no weekly press for its members to take the place of the ILP press. (It is the left wing groups who now exert such influence on the local parties by being the only source from which a "working class" weekly press can be obtained.)

By these means the ILP made its influence felt throughout the length and breadth of British politics and its influence only waned when it dropped its distinctive pacifist attitude.

ISEE no reason why a pacifist political movement born out of the PPU should not follow a similar line and fill the gap which the ILP has left.

Conditions are different and these must be taken into account. An affiliated movement is now no longer desirable and the connexion between the pacifist movement and the Labour Party must rest upon the pacifists becoming individual members of their local party.

I would suggest, however, that the ILP practice of regular branch meetings be followed where political pacifist propaganda can be initiated and organized, not only in the Labour Party but alongside with it. Literature and leaflets could be generally distributed, and there is no reason why PEACE NEWS should not be on sale at every ward and local party meeting, as well as the



doors of public meetings called by the Labour Party.

By getting into the local Labour Party organizations and carrying on a ceaseless pacifist propaganda on the widest basis, a new and significant influence would be brought to bear in politics.

For example, as the local parties are responsible for the election of seven members on to the National Executive of the Labour Party, a pacifist political movement could direct its influence to encouraging the election of avowed pacifists on to this supreme governing body of the party, with an assurance that the pacifist outlook would be maintained in the inner councils.

Local parties, through the constituency organizations, have the right to select their candidates, and a strong pacifist influence could have a very profound effect as to the type of candidate selected. Local parties, too, have the right to send resolutions to the annual party conference, and a big outstanding predominance of pacifist resolutions on the agenda of the Labour Party conference would not be without its effect.

The local parties are going to grow in power and influence inside the Labour Party. It would be tragic if pacifists neglect the opportunities still open to them.

PACIFISM, being the key not only to peace but to democracy, cannot afford to lose its identity in the political arena. This is an issue which PPU groups might take into early consideration.

As political activity will require a high degree of intellectual preparation, not only a willingness but a capacity to sacrifice time, energy, and thought to this work, it may be found that the groups as such are hardly able to undertake this work without the other activities of the PPU suffering thereby.

Groups, however, might consider which of their members might be prepared to form a branch of the Democratic Alliance or whatever name this political pacifist movement might adopt to carry on the work of political pacifism.

It must be recognized that such a Democratic Alliance could make a big contribution to the political conditions of our age and in contact with the Labour Party, it might easily become the most dynamic force in British politics.

A. LESLIE JARRATT

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Speaking Personally

On the nature of the Peace Pledge Union

**MAX PLOWMAN'S
second article under
this heading deals with
REALITY in
RELIGION**

LAST week I gave it as my opinion that the function of the Peace Pledge Union was to bring the test of reality to religion on the one hand and politics on the other.

This week I want to show what I mean by putting the test of reality to religion, and next week I shall try to do the same for politics. Again let me say how glad I am to be speaking personally and purely on my own behalf.

The purpose of religion, as I understand it, is to bind mankind into a living unity. Subjectively speaking, the quest of religion, therefore, must be for some object which all men everywhere will be agreed upon as representing the apotheosis of value. This common object of value (which cannot of course be an object in the material sense) will then be the agreed standard of value, and common regard for this supreme value will be the source of all order.

Hence the quest for God—one God as distinct from the many of history. And now, at the risk of being totally misunderstood, let me jump in and say that I believe the great and ultimate purpose of the PPU is nothing less than the rediscovery of God.

*

SUCH a statement will probably meet with two responses. Rationalist pacifists will say that their pacifism has nothing whatever to do with any sort of belief in deity.

Religious people will say that they already believe in God and that their pacifism is consequent upon that belief: they did not become pacifists in order to rediscover God, but rather to implement socially a religious belief they already held.

And their objections sound conclusive, until you reflect that some people's worship—even their unconscious worship—of an unknown God is more real than other people's belief in the teachings of theology.

"To know Thee, the only true God." If those words had meaning for Europe as a whole, what would happen? If, instead of the cast-iron God of Germany, the brazen-faced God of Italy, the very shrewd, intellectual French God, the Russian proletarian deity, and the British image of self-protection and economic privilege, there were in the minds of men one symbol of supreme value to which all other values were subordinated, should we not have that supreme court of appeal in the consciences of all men which our friends of the League of Nations Union want, I think mistakenly, to have materialized in the stony tables of the Mosaic Law?

The trouble is that, having surpassed the parochial gods of the Greeks and Romans, we have fallen so far short of the universal father of the Christian religion that we saddle ourselves with national deities which we call by one name, but in fact recognize only as possessing national sovereignty.

Do we not still sing "God save the King"? And is not our hymn raised to the national deity of the British Empire in sharp distinction from the tribal deities of those other parts of the world

which invoke their own gods for their own self-protection?

*

A UNIVERSAL empire would probably institute the worship of one god. Hitler has the idea, and he seems to me to have borrowed the bones of it unconsciously from the Roman Catholic Church.

But must we then look for an imposed deity—a national god enlarged to encompass an empire which in course of time may embrace the world?

No doubt Hitler would like to establish the peace of the world upon such terms. And, philosophically speaking, I think

valid reason for loving them is that they manifest God to us.

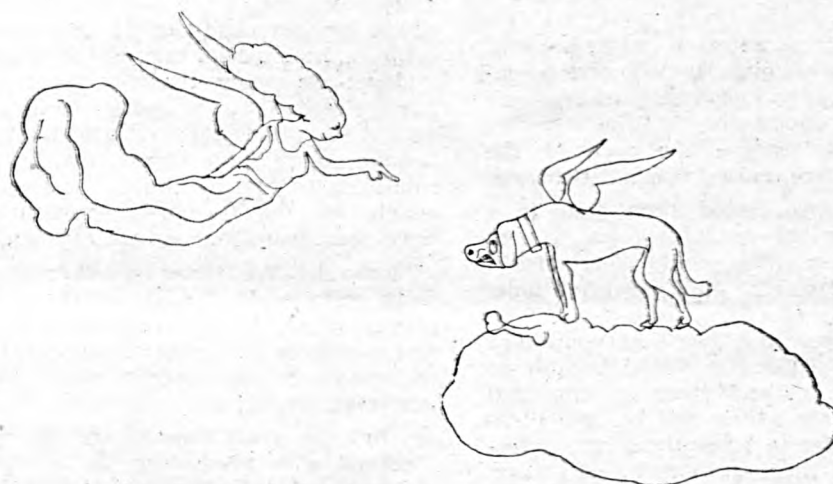
What is less evident, and what we, as pacifists, are called upon to believe is that God is the light and the life of every man—the loved and the unloved: that God truly and really exists in every man, and that the worship of God is the recognition of him as he manifests himself through his incarnation in man.

*

YOU see, I do not believe in God who resides in the void, nor in the ethical and abstract God of moral virtue. The only God I believe in is the God that exists in your own heart and reveals himself

"Angels Unite"—12

Drawn by ARTHUR WRAGG



"You're new here, aren't you?"

that I, as a pacifist, would not oppose him on any pragmatic grounds.

My opposition goes deeper and springs from the conviction that such a god is the devil, most particularly because he is superimposed, and because imposition is the essence of his nature.

The only God I think I know anything about is the God who is incarnate in every individual. So I will not bow down and worship this externalized image of power and glory which is the image of Hitler's, Mussolini's, Stalin's, Neville Chamberlain's, and my own personal pride. My God lies hidden in the breast of each one of us, and is only manifest in mutual recognition.

Now what would happen if the only God we recognized were the God who is the true being of every man? This identity of each one of us is, of course, only recognizable in one way: by love. And the truth I believe we have to realize is that the only people we really know at all are those we truly and objectively love. And I believe that our only

as love in the expressions of that heart.

And because I know that that God is within you—the very spring and origin of your mortal and immortal life—to bear arms against you with the intent to kill just isn't possible.

War is thus renounced inevitably: not by an effort of the will. For it is lunacy and sacrilege to destroy that which embodies our highest sense of value.

That is the chief part of what I mean by bringing the test of reality to religion. There is a biblical warning which says: "Lest haply we be found to be fighting against God."

That is what I have come to believe war quite literally is. And when we truly believe that God's incarnation is enacted at the birth of every child, then I think we shall have begun the rediscovery of God I want to see.

For when we have made the all-important and vital discovery of what Blake calls the Divine-Humanity, then the organization of war must and will cease. To my mind, the essence of pacifism is not humanism, but the recognition of God in man.

Drama

H.Q. Group Can Fill the Bill

THE Peace Pledge Union Headquarters Drama Group is now four months old, and although little news of its activities has appeared in these pages, it has been doing valuable work unobtrusively. The group was founded in order to provide a central "reservoir" for those groups which do not possess their own players, the idea being that they can call upon Headquarters at very short notice.

So far, this idea has been quite successful. The group has made five appearances and presented eight plays, on two occasions in conjunction with local groups of players. It has appeared at places as far apart as Euston, Enfield, Dulwich, Bishop's Stortford, and Wimbledon.

Three plays have been produced and a fourth is approaching production although progress with it has been considerably hampered by lack of attendance at rehearsals, due to the fact that most of the cast are extraordinarily busy people.

MORE MEN WANTED

The group is still receiving requests for its services and is thinking of starting work upon two or three new plays, including, if possible, a full-length play of three acts. Lack of funds is a hindrance, the cash in hand being absolutely nil—it is known as "cash out of hand!" Travelling expenses are heavy and props have to be provided and royalties paid.

There is real need of someone who possesses a car, preferably a large one. This would be most useful for the transportation of props. Usually, taxis have to be hired, which partly explains the sad position of the treasury.

More male members are also needed. (Names should be sent to the secretary—address below.)

Those who have already sent their names and have not been called upon to do anything, may rest assured that they are by no means forgotten. They will be remembered when new plays are cast.

GOOD PROPAGANDA

Besides being excellent propaganda, the Drama Group makes several good contacts—it also makes an exceptionally good excuse for selling PEACE NEWS—you can always sell out amongst the audience. Through its work new signatories have already been obtained and discussions arranged with outside organizations.

At present the group can offer: *Michael*, by Miles Malleson (after Tolstoy); *Eleventh Hour*, by Anthony Armstrong; and *The Pacifist*, by Olive Popplewell. Each of these plays lasts roughly half an hour. *Michael* has been particularly successful being much appreciated wherever it has been performed.

The Group Secretary is Harry Hunt, 72 Abbey Road, London, N.W.8. He will be pleased to hear from anybody—whether the letters contain good advice, abuse, or subscriptions (but most of all, the offer of a car).

Victory without Violence

Friendship Quelled a Riot

During a state of inter-racial and inter-religious rioting in a large Indian city, the local Rotary Club decided to try the influence of Rotary fellowship.

In pairs the Rotarians of opposing races and religions walked through the streets arm-in-arm, to the amazement of the rioters of both factions, and shortly peace came to the city.

It was not done by adopting resolutions or by mobilizing the Rotary Club and making a military force of it; it was done by Rotarians letting it be observed that they were friends.

—*Manchester Guardian*, quoted in *More Victories Without Violence*, by A. Ruth Fry.

PEACE NEWS

Editorial, Publishing and Advertisement
Offices:

17, Featherstone Buildings, London,
W.C.1.

Telephone: Holborn 8627.

Subscription Rates:

Quarterly: 3s. 3d. Yearly: 12s. 6d.
THE PEACE PLEDGE UNION welcomes all
who accept the pacifist doctrine, no matter
what their approach. Its activity is not
confined to the registration of those who are
opposed to war, but promotes and encourages
a constructive peace policy. Members are
attached to local groups designed to achieve
a communal peace mentality and extend the
influence of pacifism by propaganda and
personal example.

Give your pledge on a post-card:—

**I renounce war and I will never support
or sanction another.**

Sign this, add your address, and send the
card to The Peace Pledge Union, 96 Regent
Street, London, W.1

May 21, 1938.

Make Peace Inevitable

THE manifesto of the Peace Pledge

Union, which is now being made
the basis of all that organization's con-
structive work, both nationally and
among the local groups, is no arti-
ficially-created rallying point. So far
from being a device for waking up a
flagging organization, it is a natural
step in the forward march of a great
movement. It is, in fact, in the direct
line of progress from the movement's
origin—the pledge renouncing war and
refusing to support or sanction another.

Although many of the critics of paci-
fism never tire of taunting the PPU
with being negative, the movement
has, quite rightly, never been ashamed
that its origin involved a pledge not
to do something. But equally, sincere
pacifists were quick to realize that a
refusal of war must be accompanied
by a positive, constructive alternative.
Indeed, it is continually being brought
home to them that, in proportion as the
renunciation is genuine, a policy of
peace becomes as inevitable as war is
to those who have not renounced it.

In terms of public affairs, of the
organization of a community and the
regulation of its life in harmony with
that of other communities, this means
a new foreign policy. If we have
renounced war, we must also have
renounced the foreign policy which—
with the best will in the world—
must lead to war when patience and
the Heath Robinson devices for staving
it off which we call diplomacy at last
break down. And if it follows that we
are instead to regard peace as inevit-
able, it also follows that we must estab-
lish the causes of peace in our foreign
relations. In place of economic conflict
we must put first appeasement and then,
as a long-term policy, full international
cooperation.

This would at last make possible a
real League of Nations. In so far as the
present League has concerned itself
with trying to show some States the
error of their ways, it has failed.
Those functions of the League which
have been concerned, in their small
way, with improving the lot of the
people in all nations must not only be
retained, but must be raised to their
proper place of importance and ampli-
fied to include any and every activity
that will meet the fundamental human
needs of all. And the economic, phys-
ical needs, which are now withheld
from so many, must be so thoroughly
met that the ordinary person does not
need to seek first the things which
should, as a right, be added unto him,
but can attend to the real business of
living a full life.

That creative living is what peace
really is. And it is primarily because
war interrupts and prevents it, rather
than because of anything in its nature,
that war is wrong. That is why we say
that to renounce war—genuinely—is to
make peace inevitable.

WHAT IS THIS Collective Security?

“COLLECTIVE security”
is a good phrase. The
demand for “security” is
the demand of the common people
of all nations in these days of un-
certainty, of war and rumours of
war.

The word “collective” suggests
the idea of international coopera-
tion, which again is felt by the vast
majority of people to be not only
desirable, but essential to peace
and progress.

Consequently there has rallied behind
this phrase “collective security” a great
body of public opinion which is both
peace-loving and anxious to accept some
measure of responsibility for the realiza-
tion of international peace. To express
criticism of collective security is to be
regarded by many as one whose attitude
is lacking in sincerity or in political
realism.

Nevertheless it is very desirable that
the real implications of “collective
security” should be examined. Fine
phrases are one of the greatest menaces
to clear and independent thinking in
these days.

The Fourteen Points

THE idea of collective security is
naturally associated with the Coven-
ant of the League of Nations; and the
Covenant of the League of Nations with
Wilson's Fourteen Points and the Peace
Settlement of 1919. The basic idea of
the real peace makers of those days was
this.

Peace was to be made on the basis of
the Fourteen Points, which were to en-
sure political and economic freedom and
equality of opportunity to all nations and
considerably reduce the area of the
earth's surface under imperialist control.

All nations would then join in a
League for the peaceful regulation of
their affairs, and would surrender a
certain measure of their sovereign inde-
pendence in accepting third-party judg-
ment in their disputes. As conditions
changed, the League would be able to
revise treaties and other international
arrangements which had become obso-
lete, in order to bring them into agree-
ment with the requirements of justice.

In such an all-inclusive League, based
on international justice, collective force
was to be available for use in the last
resort against a recalcitrant member.
This is the origin of the idea of col-
lective security.

Unjust Treaties

BUT the reality has been far otherwise.

The Peace Treaties did not ex-
press the idealism of the Fourteen Points
but the economic and territorial greed
and the vindictiveness of the victor
Powers.

Not without reason, the Peace Settle-
ment was regarded by the defeated
countries—and not alone by them—as
injustice imposed by overwhelming
force.

The provision in the Covenant for
modifying obsolete treaties has never
been used. The League machinery
for preventing war has, therefore,
been necessarily concerned very
largely with defending the status quo,
i.e., with the threat of armed force
against any attempt to undo a settle-
ment which is not one of justice but
of injustice.

Further, the League has never been
all-inclusive. The United States, which
had produced the Fourteen Points, re-
fused to become a party to Peace
Treaties which clearly defied them and
refused to join the League of Nations.
Germany was admitted only after long
delay and in humiliating circumstances.

The policy of the League has almost
consistently been dominated by the
victor Powers and in their interests.
Today, out of seven great Powers, only
three are members of the League of
Nations.



By
HAROLD F. BING

Pawns in the Game

COLLECTIVE security today is, there-
fore not the cooperative effort of
the nations to defend peace and justice
against a recalcitrant member seeking
to override those principles.

It is a phrase to cover with a cloak of
moral respectability the desire of the
victor Powers to maintain by force the
territorial and economic advantages
which success in past wars has given
them.

But, it may be replied, surely this
cannot be true of the attitude of many
of the smaller countries which have no
colonies, no imperial interests to defend,
and yet are among the most loyal sup-
porters of the League and of the idea of
collective security. Unfortunately,
League policy is not determined by the
small States but by the Great Powers
which, by the League's constitution,
have permanent seats on the Council.

If the League were an all-inclusive
body, operated on the democratic princi-
ples in which it was conceived, it could
and would be the greatest safeguard of
the small States against their more
powerful neighbours.

But the great Powers are not con-
cerned with preserving the indepen-
dence and integrity of small States
except when it serves their own
interests.

The sacrifice of Abyssinia and the
hostility expressed by the French
Government to Belgium's declared de-
sire to remain neutral in any future war
between her powerful neighbours are
recent evidence of this.

Recent history shows that, despite the
obligations of the Covenant, the great
Powers are more likely to treat their
weaker neighbours as pawns in their
own schemes of imperial rivalry. Has
the policy of any of the great Powers
toward Spain during the past two years
shown a primary concern for the
Spanish people and their right to deter-
mine their own affairs?

Intervention and non-intervention
have alike been determined by quite
other motives.

“Peaceful” Powers

NEVERTHELESS there are hundreds
of thousands of people in this
country who still believe in and support
collective security.

These people justify their support of
the present government's unprecedented
rearmament policy on the ground that
British arms will be used to support a
policy of collective security.

There is no evidence that a policy of
collective security is even theoretically
possible at the present time and cer-
tainly no evidence that it represents the
policy of the British Government. This
defence of rearmament is now becoming
so transparently false that even those
who have been its most powerful advo-
cates are beginning to alter the character
of their arguments.

I have before me as I write a copy of

a recent leaflet published by the Inter-
national Peace Campaign, the leader of
which is Lord Cecil. It is headed:

The People's Answer to Dictators is COLLECTIVE SECURITY.

It states that “Germany has annexed
Austria with Italian consent. Germany,
and Italy have combined to speed up
Franco's conquest of Spain. Britain and
the peaceful Powers face War.”

By “peaceful Powers” is clearly
meant not those who desire peace for its
own sake, or for the sake of its resultant
benefits, but those Powers which, it is
urged, should prepare for war because
their imperial interests are threatened
by recent developments of German and
Italian policy.

For, while it is stated in large type
that “Britain, France, and Russia can
defend Spain and Czechoslovakia” the
reasons given why they should do so are
not any arguments of international jus-
tice but because

Spain's development into a military Power
with fascist ties would be a potential
threat not only to the French communica-
tions with her African colonies, but to
Britain's power to control the western out-
let from the Mediterranean. A naval force
could hardly be maintained at Gibraltar
in the face of a hostile air force on the
mainland.”

Clearly the protagonists of collective
security have let the cat out of the bag!
The war for collective security to which
they are urging us is no more a war for
the rights of small nations than was that
of 1914-1918.

We are to fight “for Spain” or “for
Czechoslovakia” in order to defend the
French colonial Empire in North and
West Africa and the British domination
of India and of the route to India through
the Mediterranean. We are to object to
a German or Italian air force in Spain
but not to a British force in Spain—at
Gibraltar!

Wrong Method

WHATEVER may be the theory of
collective security, it is evident
that Britain, like other great Powers,
will make war when her own interests
are involved and only then.

The leading protagonists of collective
security now openly recognize this. It
is well that the air is thus cleared. But
unfortunately the majority of those who
have been attracted by the phrase “col-
lective security” have not yet realized
this.

It must be the task of the peace move-
ment to show them that the present war
preparations are for another war of the
old type between two groups of
imperialist Powers, one group seeking to
increase its territorial and economic posi-
tion and the other seeking to defend its
past gains.

But the pacifist objection to “collec-
tive security” is not limited to the fact
of its unreality in present circumstances.

Even if the League of Nations were
far more representative than it is at
present, and its chief members less
concerned with their own selfish
interests, the attempt to gain security
by the method of war is morally
wrong and practically futile.

War does not give security but insecurity.
War does not preserve, but destroys. To
deal with an “aggressor” State by means
of collective force, means to use more ef-
fectively than he all the inhuman and destruc-
tive methods of modern war; to massacre
ruthlessly men, women, and children and
to destroy the cultural achievements of
centuries.

What kind of security is this, which, even
if “successful,” would reduce vast areas,
probably including those which were being
“protected” to a state of barbarism and
waste in which it would hardly be possible
for civilized life to survive?

“The People's Answer to Dictators” is
certainly not that kind of “collective
security,” but a policy of international jus-
tice and cooperation; the ending of
imperialism and not a struggle to determine
which group of nations are to be its main
beneficiaries; a system under which the
natural resources of the world shall be made
available for the common benefit of all and
not be the monopolies of private individuals
or particular national groups to be
exploited in their own interests.

In such a world dictators could not
flourish and “aggressors” would cease to
be.

DANGEROUS SNARE FOR YOUTH

Ideals May be Exploited for a Myth

From Our Own Correspondent

Complete disarmament on the part of this country, combined with a policy of reconciliation and appeasement, is a surer way of obtaining world peace than a policy of collective security through the League of Nations.

THIS was the motion carried, by 155 votes to 135, at a very well-attended meeting in Kensington Town Hall last week.

Professor C. E. M. Joad, the well-known philosopher, spoke for the motion on behalf of the Peace Pledge Union, and Mr. Geoffrey Le M. Mander, Liberal MP, opposed for the League of Nations Union. Miss Rose Macaulay was in the chair.

Collective security was a dangerous snare to the idealism of young men, declared Professor Joad. "Don't allow your idealism to be exploited and throw away the whole bright heritage of the ages and the whole glory of our civilization," he added.

Security—for Ex-Burglars

OPENING the meeting (which had been arranged by South Kensington group of the PPU and the local branch of the LNU), Miss Rose Macaulay said that in view of the fact that life in future was to be spent in gas-proof rooms, such a meeting was important.

Professor Joad began by pointing out that the object of armaments was to enable people to fight wars and increase national prestige. This depended, in the last resort, on ability to blackmail other nations. It did not appear that national prestige was a desirable thing.

CANNOT ACHIEVE ITS AIMS

War was immoral and did not achieve its aims. Thus all the aims for which we went to war in 1914 had been totally neglected and frustrated. In addition war sowed the seeds of future wars.

Professor Joad went on to show how the Versailles Treaty was the inevitable outcome of the War—"the inevitable desire to hit the bully when he was down, which has caused all the subsequent trouble."

"During the war," he said, "your ends are insensibly and gradually changed and your treaty of justice sows the seeds of future wars."

FALSE IDEAL

After showing how history proved that arms gave neither security nor peace, Professor Joad turned to collective security—"impressive and magical idea." The League of Nations, he said, was hamstrung from the first. It was a pact of the ex-burglars and an attempt to deter other competitors in the profession.

Although the integral idea was that nations should be prepared to forego rights and interests, let our interests be touched and let it be suggested that the Empire should be distributed, and "the whole press of the Right goes purple with indignation."

Professor Joad pointed out that not one of the present States was prepared to fight for collective security.

"Don't let's have another war for a false ideal," he urged, and exposed the present "defence and appeasement" policy of the Government by declaring: "It is no good going to shake hands with your enemy when armed to the teeth."

The Case for the League

AN international general strike would be the finest way of stopping war, admitted Mr. Mander. He submitted, however, that it was impracticable in the world at present.

Collective security was not the policy of the British Government. He doubted if even members of the British Empire could be persuaded to come into "a dog-fight of the old-fashioned type."

"War," he protested, was not a correct description of action under the League's authority. Some day moral forces might be sufficient. At present force would be used by somebody—by whom?

Germany, Japan and Italy left the

League because they would not accept third-party judgment. Germany had been badly treated, but would now listen to nothing but force.

"FUNCTION OF FORCE"

"The function of force in the realm of moral ideas is to give them time to take root." Non-resistance led to the position in which, to be logical, one must refuse police protection.

Dealing with the policy of unilateral disarmament, proposed by Professor Joad, Mr. Mander declared that such a policy would mean the betrayal of millions of natives in Africa. "Can you reconcile it with your manhood to abandon them," he asked. Would not Germany march into France and Czechoslovakia?

Mr. Mander suggested that the practical policy was to persuade the Government to adopt a foreign policy of collective security, or to take the first opportunity of electing a government which would do so. We could get the majority of the world on our side.

The machinery for peaceful change must also be put into operation, while order could be secured through an international police force.

DISARMAMENT THE ONLY WAY

Who was the third party in Mr. Mander's argument? asked Professor Joad in his reply. Was it the League? That was merely an instrument of individual policy.

How would a League war differ from a balance-of-power war, except that some would declare they were fighting under the banner of collective security? What difference would that make to a devastated Europe?

Professor Joad suggested that instead of trusting to our own armaments and those of our friends whose interests at the moment coincided with our own, we should invite nations to a round-table conference, notifying our intention not to defend our interests.

We could then ask "What action do you want." It was no good saying that at present because we were backed by force. Only in a changed psychological atmosphere could conciliation be successful.

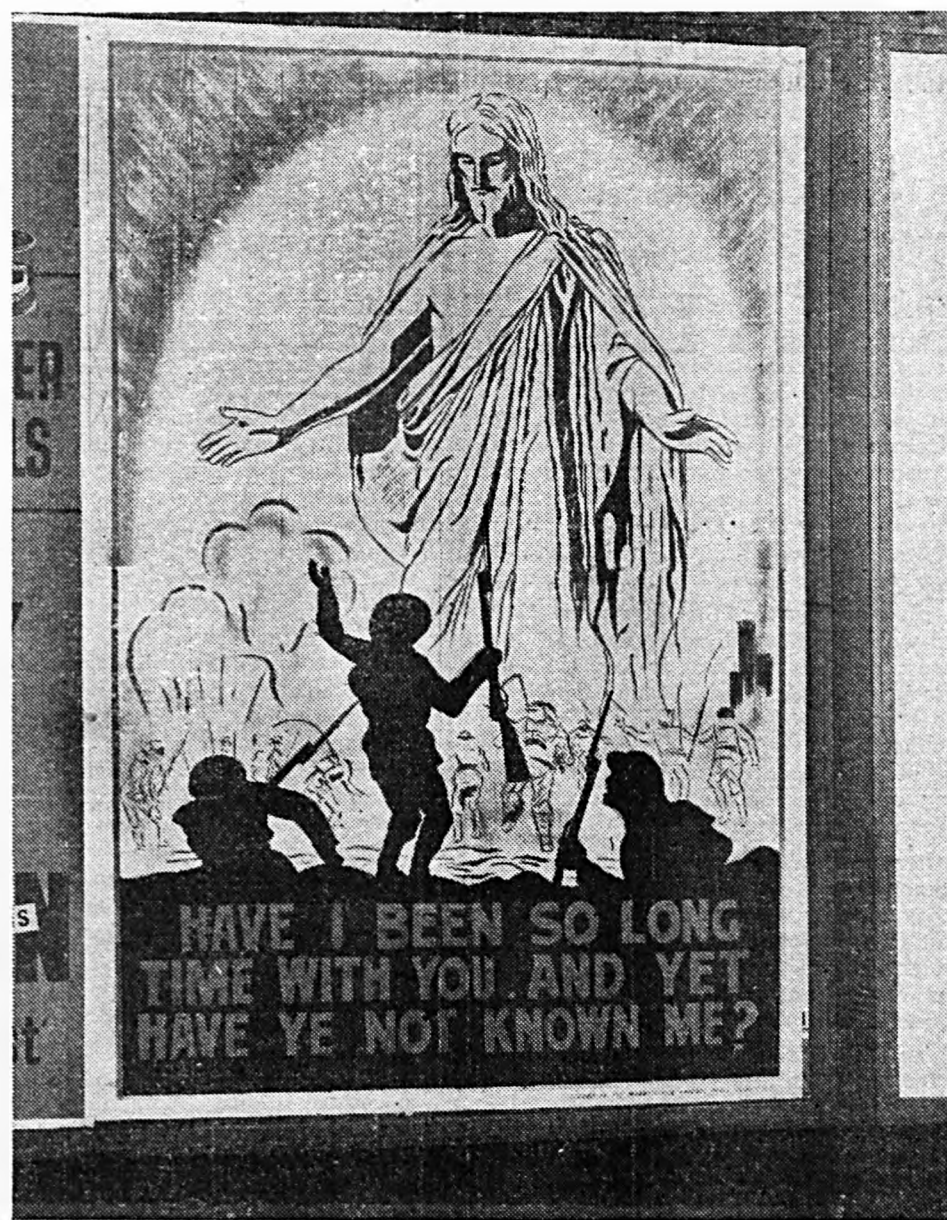
To try to enforce our will by collective security meant merely another war. The only way to secure peace was to change the psychological atmosphere by a striking gesture.

Anti-Imperialist Conference

An anti-imperialist conference will be held by the Militant Socialist International in Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, London, W.C.1, on the evening of Empire day (May 24). An anti-imperialist exhibition will also be on show.

Speakers will include Professor Shelley Wang, George Padmore, G. F. Green, and Vernon Gunasekara. The chairman will be J. F. Horrabin.

Organizations are invited to send two or more delegates. The fee is 6d. per delegate. Admission for visitors will also be 6d. per visitor. Further particulars are obtainable from the secretary, MSI, 7, Dean House, 116, Great Titchfield Street, London, W.1.



This poster has now taken the place of the one advertising PEACE NEWS (which we reproduced a few weeks ago) on the hoarding used by pacifists in Birmingham. Photo. E. H. & H. E. Fletcher.

CHRISTIAN VIEW OF COMMUNITY PROBLEMS

From a Correspondent

A CHRISTIAN view of community was given by the Rev. Godfrey Pain, warden of Kingsley Hall, Bow, at a meeting held there in connexion with the Community Service Committee.

He was convinced that for a community to develop the fullest life it must be activated by the spirit of Christ—creative love. Christ, he said, was concerned with relationships not ethics, and sin was the destruction of relationships.

He pointed out the danger of work being regarded as worship to such an extent that no time was left for worship as such.

LIVING ORGANISM

True community would be a living organism in which each individual would seek the well being of the whole.

During the discussion which followed, the question was raised of the use of force in governing the community, it being contended that it might be necessary to eject a member.

The speaker said that in his experience when anyone was unable to adjust himself he left.

Slavery is (Officially) Near Its End

THE League Council was told last week by Lord Halifax, acting as rapporteur for the report of the experts on slavery, that slave raids, the slave trade, and the numbers of captured slaves and born slaves were all rapidly dwindling.

The report shows, however, that systems like *mui tsai* in China, by which young children are transferred from their parents to strangers, continue to be a serious problem.

ECONOMIC SLAVERY

The report for 1937 of the Anti-Slavery and Aborigines Protection Society shows, too, that in the Southern States of America:

Something like six millions of people are there living below the poverty line, and that a system of debt bondage still prevails among most of the negro cotton workers, who receive no wages but work on a share basis which leaves many of them in a state of utter destitution.

The society's report also records that at a conference of Australian aboriginal authorities, held in Canberra, many important resolutions were passed on racial problems in relation to the governments.

The conference was described as an initial one, and is considered as of importance for its bearing upon the future welfare of the natives of Australia.

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A WOMAN'S POINT OF VIEW

The PRIVATE TEACHER

My job was private teaching. I got a degree, but as I couldn't afford to spend another year training for a teaching diploma, I had to get a job on the strength of my B.A.

It wasn't easy. There weren't enough posts for all the trained teachers so there wasn't much hope for the untrained. While I was at college it never entered my head that there wouldn't be a job I could do when I'd finished. Many of us thought that the jobs we got might be dull, monotonous, difficult or hard, but not one of us considered the possibility of being unwanted, of there being no place for us in the world outside.

But there was no place. Of the forty odd women who came down from the university, twenty went on to train for teaching, five got jobs immediately (and four of those had influential friends); the rest could find no job for which their qualifications fitted them.

Of those that were able to train, only a quarter got jobs immediately. That was six years ago. Four of those people have only had temporary teaching posts at long intervals over the six years.

Of the twenty who either could not afford the extra year of training, or who did not wish to teach, I was the only one to get a job in six months. Scholarships had taken me through school and college, but for those six months, at the age of twenty-three my parents had to support me.

All that time I answered advertisements but until the end of six months I had no replies.

Then I saw an advertisement asking for a daily governess. I was offered an interview and with little hope of success I made the hour and a half's journey from my home.

I was given the job.

It had its compensations. It was in the country. The hours were shorter than school hours. I left home at 8.15 a.m. to arrive at 9.45 a.m. Lessons began at ten. Lunch was from 1 to 2 p.m. Then I took my pupil for an hour's walk. At 4.15 p.m. I left to catch my train home.

Although I disapproved of only children being taught at home I felt I was fortunate to have the chance of teaching in my own way, of arranging my own timetables and of using the books I thought best.

It did not work out quite like that. I soon discovered that my timetable was an unattainable ideal. Anything might upset it. An indulgent parent and a spoilt child provided between them an unending number of excuses for missing or cutting short lessons. The books that were provided had been in the family for generations and age was their only claim to distinction.

When there was no tennis party, no following the hunt in cars, no dancing class, no visitors in the house, no resting in bed for imaginary ills. I was able to teach and I enjoyed it. But one spoilt child is problem enough. When that is complicated by an indulgent parent who happens to be one's employer, the situation has untold possibilities.

This is a fair sample of a day's work. I arrive and my pupil, let us call her Mary, comes to meet me. She tells me that before she can start work we have to search for worms in the garden. There is a rule that Mary has to look after her pets herself. This includes feeding them.

So we look for worms. The morning is cold and windy, so this is not a pleasant occupation. Worms found, we retire to the nursery.

This is discovered in a state of chaos. Mary is supposed to put away her toys

Other Women's Jobs—2

and get her lesson books ready. We do this. Then Mary's mother comes in and tells me that Mary has to wear gloves all day for a week because she bites her nails. She is afraid that this will make Mary's handwriting worse than usual, but it must be done. She goes. Mary sulks.

We begin with geography. We are making a country in clay, with hills and rivers and woods and roads. This cannot be done with gloves on. So we must do something else. More sulks. Then Mary remembers she has left her two puppies chained up. Under the rule for pets she is responsible, so she goes down to the stables and fetches them.

The puppies settle down under the table. We begin again. Enter Mary's mother. Alas, Mary has sinfully left her gloves in the stables and I have not noticed. We are both in disgrace. The gloves are found and put on. The sulks have settled in for what remains of the morning.

Lunch comes. We go downstairs to join Mary's mother. She decides to ask

Mary the French for everything on the table. Mary refuses to answer. Unluckily there are radishes in the salad. Mary's mother asks me the French for radishes. I cannot for the life of me remember. I am in disgrace. This cheers Mary up.

We escape from lunch to feed the puppies. There is another rule that Mary has to wipe the silver which the maid washes. An extra rule has been passed that I have to wipe the glasses or Mary will refuse to do her part.

We go out for a walk. If we are very unlucky we meet Mary's mother first and have to pass her critical inspection.

Mary hates walking so I have to tell her a story all the time we are out. This is exhausting.

We come back for the last hour and a quarter's work. The gloves are missing. This time I notice, so we start a search. We are discovered searching and reproved for wasting lesson time.

That is a fairly good day!

After a year of that, three other pupils were imported to join Mary's lessons. They were all of different ages, ranging from twelve to sixteen. They were all to be taught together. My salary of £130 a year was not raised.

The almost insurmountable difficulties of this arrangement are easily seen. But although my job was unenviable, the society of other children was good for Mary.

When I was married, and my husband was earning enough to support us, I gave up the job.

I hope the private governess is a

vanishing species. The qualifications for it ought to be complete lack of conscience and the temper of an angel. Most of the other governesses I met at Mary's tea parties were even more unqualified than I was to teach and have charge of children. Most of them were resident and kept their jobs because they hadn't any other home.

But it's a job that doesn't work. It remains because of the snobbery of the well-to-do.

The place for the child, rich or poor, is at school among other children.

Irish Women's Message

"We believe that the same principles of justice, cooperation, and mutual assistance which are essential to harmony within the family are equally essential to harmony within the family of nations, and must, therefore, be carried into all the affairs of life, into commerce, industry, politics, and international relations."

This belief was expressed in a greetings message sent by the Irish Women Workers' Union to the recent women's conference in Marseilles.

"Statesmen, politicians, financiers, pay lip service to such principles," the message continued, "but claim that to act upon them is not 'practical politics.' But it is our belief that the lack of moral principles in political and business affairs is the real cause of the evils of war, unemployment, and social demoralization now rampant in the world. Realism and 'practical politics' have failed. Women ask for a policy based on spiritual values."

Pages from the Past

HOW GERMANY GAINED AND LOST

How the German Empire obtained its Colonies

Africa.

1884.—Bismarck announced protectorate over the region between the Orange River and Angra Piquena (German South-West Africa).

1885.—Bismarck announced protectorate over East Coast of Africa (German East Africa).

1885.—Central Africa subject of Colonial Conference in Berlin. An Act was agreed to declaring the Congo Basin should be treated as neutral in the case of war between the nations represented at the Conference, i.e., Germany, France, Belgium and Great Britain.

1885.—German Protectorate declared in the Cameroons and Togoland (West Africa).

1912.—As compensation after the "Agadir Incident" for allowing the French to establish a protectorate over Morocco, Germany was given 306,000 square miles of French Equatorial Africa.

Pacific.

1884.—Bismarck claimed North-East part of New Guinea and neighbouring islands renaming them Kaiser Wilhelm Land and the Bismarck Archipelago. Later the Marshall Islands and Nauru were added.

1889.—Great Britain, USA and Germany agree to share the Samoan Islands.

1899.—During Boer War Great Britain resigned rights in Samoa which was then divided between the USA and Germany.

1899.—Germany bought the Caroline Islands from Spain.

China.

1895.—Minor concessions at Hankow and Tientsin.

1897.—Two German missionaries murdered. Germany seizes Kiowchu in Shantung Peninsula, having important mineral deposits and Tsingtau, the best harbour in North China.

What happened to the German Colonies in the Great War

Tropical

West Africa.

1914.—British and French rejected claim that Togoland was neutral under Berlin Act (1885) and Togoland is surrendered on August 27. Cameroons

HER EMPIRE

surrendered in February, 1915, after more determined resistance.

South-West Africa.

1914.—German Colony attacked by South Africans under General Botha. Captured February, 1916 by an army of 240,000, opposed by 1,600 Germans and 5,000 natives.

East Africa.

1914.—Dar-es-Salaam bombarded, but Colony defended by Lt.-Col. Von Lettow-Vorbeck so successfully that in spite of an attack by General Smuts with 50,000 men, he was not forced to surrender until November 23, 1918, eleven days after the Armistice. This colony was never conquered.

China.

1914.—Kiowchu surrendered to the Japanese after blockade on November 7. Before the declaration of war Japan "advised" the German Government "to hand over Kiowchu with a view to its eventual restoration to China."

Armistice and Peace Negotiations

President Wilson's Fourteen Points, which the Germans accepted before signing the Armistice as a basis for peace negotiations, contained this statement:—

Point V. A free, open-minded, and absolutely impartial adjustment of all colonial claims . . . in which the interests of the populations concerned must have equal weight with the equitable claims of the government whose title is to be determined.

1919.—Treaty of Versailles contains the Covenant of the League of Nations, of which Article 22 set up three types of mandates under which former Colonies were to be administered (A, B and C).

All German colonies were put into B and C classes as mandates of her enemies in the War.

B class mandates—in these the country taking the mandate is responsible for the well-being and good government of the natives to an annual inquiry of the Mandates Commission of the League of Nations. The natives are allowed no direct access to the League Commission. The German colonies made into B mandates were:—

1. Togoland. — Divided between British and French. Area, 34,934 square miles.

2. Cameroons.—British. 34,081 square

miles. French. 166,489 square miles.

3. East Africa (Tanganyika).—British. Area, 373,494 square miles.

In B class mandates the "open door" has to be observed as regards trade and commerce of other members of the League. Germany was not a member till 1926.

C class mandates.—In these annexation was disguised by the following (paragraph six of Article 22 of the Covenant):—

There are territories, such as South West Africa which, owing to the sparseness of their population, or their small size, or their remoteness from the centres of civilization or their geographical contiguity to the territory of the mandatory, and other circumstances, can best be administered under the laws of the mandatory, as integral portions of its territory subject to the safeguards . . . in the interests of the indigenous population.

C mandates could be closed to trade with other nations by customs barriers, but fortifications were forbidden.

German colonies made into C class mandates were:—

1. South-West Africa. — Given to Union of South Africa. Area, 317,725 square miles.

2. New Guinea (former Kaiser Wilhelm Land) and Bismarck Archipelago given to Australia. Area, 93,000 square miles.

3. Nauru. British. Area 9 square miles.

4. West Samoa given to New Zealand. Area, 1,130 square miles.

5. Caroline, Marianne and Marshall Islands given to Japan. Area 830 square miles.

Kiowchu.

The Japanese refused to return this to China, as promised, until 1922, and they hold it again now.

When the representatives of the German Republican Government, which included a Minister for the Colonies, showing that annexation was not anticipated, objected to the terms of the Treaty they were told that they were fully in accord with the Fourteen Points, and founded on a just and equitable basis to be accepted or rejected. These alternatives caused the resignation of the German Cabinet. Another Coalition was formed under a Social Democrat, H. Bauer, who signed the Treaty "under duress."

When the Government of Herr Hitler recently made a treaty with Japan he waived Germany's claim to the Pacific Islands held by Japan as C mandates.

UP THE GARDEN PATH

"ONE of the first results of the pact with Eire is that Mr. Neville Chamberlain will go fishing in Galway as soon as the House rises in July.—*Sunday Dispatch*.

GUNS ARE TRUMPS

Trump Card in the Arms Race, said a headline. We suspect there's a joker left in that pack.

"Your lead, Mr. Hitler—or was it yours, Mr. Mussolini? How the evenings are drawing out now."

CLEAN BRITISH SPORT

"After the referee had left the ring in his socks and underwear, the wrestlers tried to choke one another with the remains of the trousers."

Let the best man win, said Sergeant Blunt. That's British. What do we want with referees and Leagues of Nations? Tread on his ugly mug, sir!

SAFETY-VALVE NEEDED?

Moral indignation is valuable when it comes to a fight, as in August, 1914, but it is liable to be very much in the way when you are trying to keep the peace. (Professor O. M. Trevelyan, in a letter in *The Times*, April 15.)

AMBIDEXTEROUS

The god of victory is said to be one-handed, but peace gives victory to both sides. (Emerson, *Journal*.)

NEW ITALIAN TENOR

Mr. Kenneth Lindsay, National Government MP for Kilmarnock, says that "all efforts must be directed toward rebuilding a concert of European Powers."

The same paper that reported this published a photograph of Mussolini singing a hymn, the words of which he has written himself. "Musso" is evidently to be the chief tenor in the new concert. (*Forward* April 30.)

HOW IT STARTS

Says *Time*: "The House Committee now has before it a Bill to shorten the inch by .00005 millimetres. . . . A mile would be 18 inches shorter, the United States would measure 31 feet 2 inches wider . . ."

It is not that extra eighth inch in the mile that has me in a quandary, principally because I have never gone forward or backward that far at one time. I am a lazy soul by nature.

But what about the extra 31 feet 2 inches? Where will it go? How will it fit? Will these 31 feet 2 inches be given to the South? the North? the East? the West? or the Republicans?

Of course, the practical thing to do would be to admit it to the Union as a new and separate State. But we kill this thought, because Congressmen don't think of practical things—and besides the symmetry of the flag would be disrupted.

As a puzzled, but interested bystander I should like to put in my bid for this extra territory—to be officially known hereafter as *The Schiller Strip*. (Or is this suggestive?) Often I have desired to become a real estate entrepreneur. There is so much one can do with land nowadays.

As sole owner of the land, my first activity necessarily would be Armament. The reader should not be startled. This is the chief characteristic of the Evolution of Land. My land would be a tower of armed strength—a glorious fortification of subterranean mines and Big Berthas. The world Powers would cast envious eyes my way and would immediately inaugurate pointed pacifistic editorial policies.

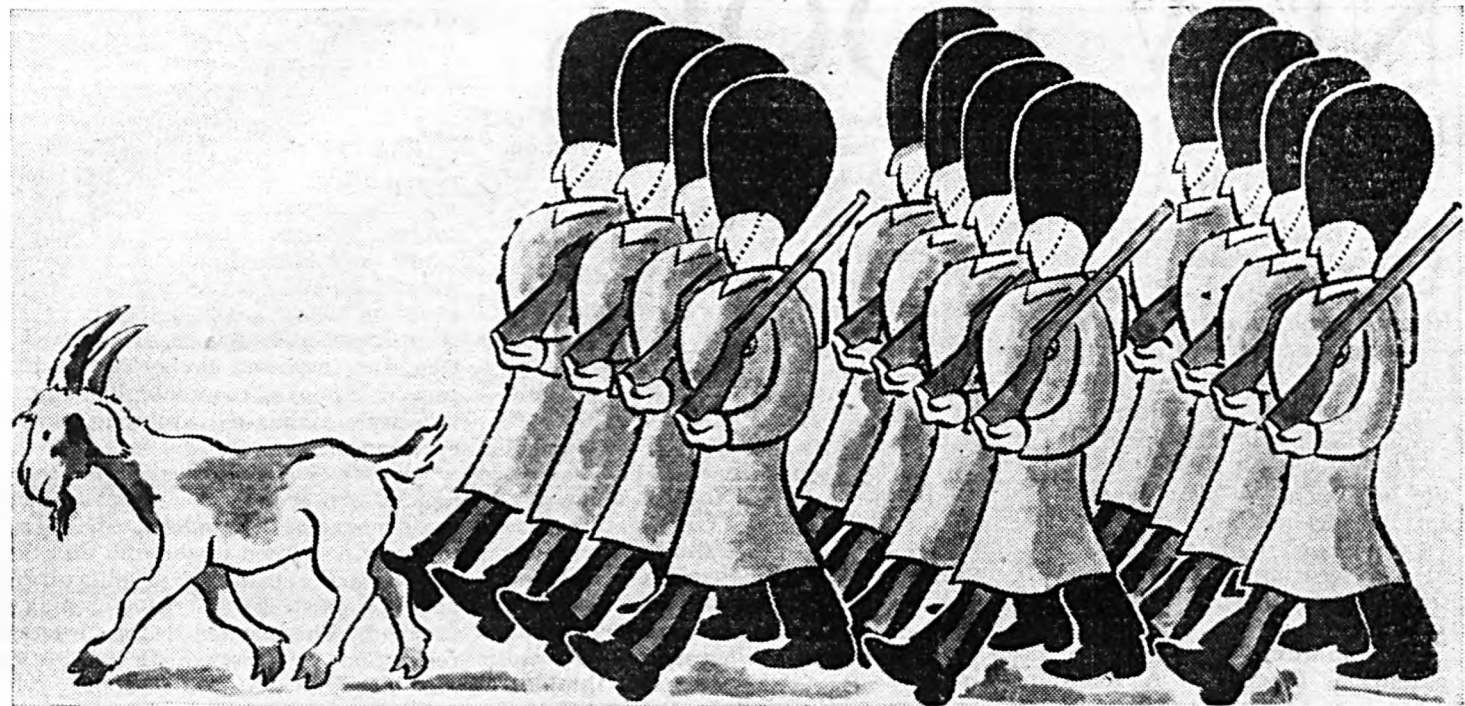
This would arouse my ire. *The Schiller Strip* stands for fair play! *The Schiller Strip* is merely protecting its interest—and the Schiller Strip's only interest is Peace!

This would lead to crises and complications. The Strip would send out warnings and in return would receive apologies. If the tones of the apologies did not please the Ruler of the Strip (me) I'd put my submarines and my cruisers, and my airplanes to work.

Hell, you can't keep them couped up all the time.

If I had a nice personality or a sister I'd soon find myself with allies, and shortly the world would be at war to save the Schiller Strip for Democracy.

There is so much one can do with land nowadays. (Bob Schiller, in *UCLA Bruin*.)



Drawn by BARLOW

LETTER from the EDITOR

17 Featherstone Buildings,
London, W.C.1.

IT'S a small world. Wandering about the West of England during my holiday, and reflecting how good it was to be there (particularly as the weather was ideal from my point of view), it occurred to me that I was only one of at least five PPU Sponsors who thought so!

Arthur Wragg has his own cottage in Cornwall, to which I imagine, he escapes from his London flat whenever he can. But three other Sponsors are "ordinarily resident" in that part of the country (as it puts it in the form I have just filled in giving information for the semi-annual Register of Electors).

Siegfried Sassoon lives in Wiltshire. In Street, Somerset, lives Laurence Housman, the name of whose house—Long Meadow—is much more suggestive of the quiet nature of the town than is the latter's name.

Stands Bristol Where it Did?

BRISTOL is, of course, also West of England, though there seems to be some doubt as to its county.

A game from which, as a child, I learned most of my geography of England, taught me quite definitely that it was in Somerset—along with Bath, Wells, and Clifton. But most maps, I find, put it equally definitely in Gloucester. Any explanation?

But I was writing of Sponsors. It is here, as most readers probably know by now, that Harold Bing lives.

He tells me, by the way, that he "is not and never has been" a Quaker, as we stated in last week's issue.

I gather he did not take our mistake as being in the nature of an accusation quite; but he asks me to correct it.

I for one certainly thought he was. But it may have been a case of association of ideas.

Harold Bing is warden of an Adult School "Folk House." And there was a time—comparatively recently—when the Adult School Movement was almost entirely a Quaker concern. Now, of course, it flourishes as an extremely healthy independent body, though members of the Society of Friends still take an active part in it.

They're Everywhere

YOU can't get away from the PPU even on an early holiday.

On our last day in the Dunster district a couple of pedestrians bellowed after us as my wife and I motored slowly through the little village of Wootton Courteney. Jumping out to see what havoc my "reckless" driving might have caused, I was greeted by two PPU members from South Wales who were on a walking tour of most of Devon

and Cornwall. We happened to know them and they recognized us as we passed.

The car, by the way, bore no sign of having been used in the service of the PPU (though it certainly has been—having many times been a delivery van).

On the other hand, at the beginning of my holiday I saw in Derbyshire the Austin seven that carries on its radiator wherever it goes a replica in wood of the old PPU badge—the shield with "War, We Say No!"

Leaving Dunster and travelling toward Oxfordshire, I am certain we saw a well-known doctor member of the PPU, who lives near London, walking near the magnificent cathedral at Wells. But, of course, lots of people have their "doubles."

And then, in Bicester, the woman in charge of the tearshop where we stopped spelt out, in a loud voice, the initials on my PPU badge asking what they stood for. She was the first person who has ever remarked on it, though I believe most members find their badges a frequent source of useful conversation.

Frank Hancock Moves

FRANK HANCOCK, whose adoption as prospective Labour candidate for the Monmouth Division I was glad to see announced recently, tells me he was accepted as a member of the Minority Group in the party.

I am sure a good many readers will appreciate the importance of this news. Lewes will not be quite so appreciative, though, because it involves his leaving the Sussex town and living in Monmouthshire.

But although he will have to give up the oversight of East Sussex on behalf of the PPU, he hopes to continue the work in Monmouthshire.

Writes Authoritatively

BEN Greene, who writes on page 6 on the possibilities of influencing the Labour Party in the direction of pacifism, can speak with authority.

Not only is he prospective Labour candidate for Hull, South-West, but he is Secretary of the Association of Constituency Labour Parties. This is an important position for a pacifist, for the association's influence is such that it was largely responsible for getting the party's constitution reformed at the last party conference.

Limerick Department

RIDING back to Cambridge the other night from a village where some of us had been suggesting "The Alternative to Air Raid Precautions," I passed through the quaintly-named village of Toft (writes a correspondent). The combination of ideas produced the following:—

There was a young lady of Toft
—A pacifist must think her soft—
That took ARP
So seriously

That she tried to catch bombs in the
loft.

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THOSE STRANGE YEARS

By Theodora Wilson Wilson

A novel for those who remember and those who don't.

Popular Edition 2/6

From GEORGE LANSBURY

"Those Strange Years" is written by one who knows from first-hand knowledge what life was like in Britain during the days of the 'Great War'. She has written a picture which shows clearly the mental, moral and material struggles through which masses of young people passed.

Now that we are once again in the midst of a crisis which may plunge us all into an even greater Inferno of Unreason, it is important that those who will be brought face to face with the same age-long problems of Right and Wrong, should be able to read a clear straight-forward story of recent struggles, and learn that life is not just a game of chance, but is given us for service of God through co-operation in service of one another. "I hope the book will get into the hands of thousands of young people and in all libraries."

LONDON: THE C. W. DANIEL COMPANY LTD.

Forty Great Russell Street, W.C.

NEW BOOKS

HE BUILT THE LABOUR PARTY

Arthur Henderson. A Biography. By Mary Agnes Hamilton. Heinemann. 15s.

Reviewed by James H. Hudson

"THIS one thing I do." It was at a ceremonial function in honour of Arthur Henderson, held several years before his death, that Henderson said, if he had his choice, this Pauline statement should be graven as his epitaph. He meant that he had devoted life to the one purpose of building the Labour Party and securing its pre-eminence in British and international politics.

The extent to which he succeeded in his aim is faithfully portrayed in his biography by Mrs. Mary A. Hamilton. She has been greatly handicapped by lack of material. As she says, Henderson kept a clean desk. Yet with the help of party reports, newspaper files, and the collaboration of a large circle of friends and followers of the great architect of the Labour Party machine, Mrs. Hamilton has managed to present a most readable and valuable story. The book will become a standard work of reference for serious students of our times.

Henderson did not count himself a pacifist. Neither does Mrs. Hamilton. One detects a little of her superciliousness in the description of a lady at a Labour Party Conference, who wanted further strides towards disarmament than Henderson was prepared to take, as an "impassioned female delegate." The story of Henderson's responsibility for Labour's participation in the Great War is fairly told, though Mrs. Hamilton is too much under the influence of Henderson's many fine qualities to admit outright the truth, which her story really conveys, that Henderson was compelled to retreat from the mistaken position that he took in August, 1914. But Mrs. Hamilton's hero never retreated. He just accommodated himself. She writes of him:

He never drove, he did not believe in driving. He waited for the gradual process of accommodation between opposing views, helping it here and there. Negotiation was a practice in which he was supreme.

All this was quite true as an indication of the secret of Uncle Arthur's success in the councils of the party as well as in world conferences. It reveals him as a pacifist, if not in theory, at least in practice.

The book collects a wealth of valuable advice of Henderson's which, if the Labour Party read it, would save them from many of the pit-falls into which they now stumble. He once said to the Assembly of the League that "Security is impossible if competitive military preparations continue as they are going today." "Nothing can make our peoples truly secure until a Treaty of General Disarmament has been made." The trouble about the Labour Front Benchers of today is that they never breathe a word about disarmament and yet assume, without it, that some policy of their own or of the Government's, some policy of force or threat of force can and will attain to Collective Security. Henderson was above folly of that sort.

There are some delightful pictures of a working-class family that knew how to retain its essential dignity in a time of affluence:

Neither when he was Home Secretary in 1924, nor when he became Foreign Secretary in 1929 was there any variation in the simple way of living both father and mother preferred. Strict views on what ought to be spent on oneself they shared. Anything he earned beyond his salary was put into a fund—about which he said nothing ever—to be used for helping others.

The boiler-maker who once tramped England looking for a job remembered the pit from which he had been dug.

One or two of the passages are notably coloured with the prejudice which belonged to the informant upon whom the author has had to rely. This is notably so in the account of the Hague Conference. There was a tremendous row there between Henderson and Snowden. As the author rightly shows, Snowden's policy had its own disastrous aspect. Mrs. Hamilton says that Snowden took a quite unexpected attitude in concentrating on the attempt to secure full payments for Britain under the Young Plan. It could only have

been unexpected to those who failed to analyse the facts of the 1929 election, which had been largely won by Snowden's nationalist speeches in favour of doing precisely what he did do, of getting all he could for Britain.

Mrs. Hamilton gives the quite laughable impression that the settlement at the Hague was Arthur Henderson's doing, and states that "the verdict of those who were at The Hague is quite unanimous that but for the efforts of the British Foreign Secretary, the British Chancellor would have wrecked the Conference." This is entirely erroneous. Of the three British Cabinet delegates at The Hague, Graham supported Snowden against Henderson. There were two other political delegates without responsibility. One was the present reviewer. Snowden complained that the other did too much thinking aloud in and around the Binnenhof and that, in consequence, the world press and the other delegations gathered an opinion about the ultimate weakening in Snowden's demands, of which the event of the Conference was ample confirmation. Thus a mole-hill grew into a mountain, and the Conference and ill-feeling were greatly prolonged.

SIMPLE THOUGHTS OF A GREAT MAN

The Ideals of Humanity and How to Work. By T. G. Masaryk. Allen & Unwin. 6s.

In the welter of vulgarity and violence which is the Europe of today, it is pleasant to be reminded that our generation has experienced one philosopher statesman. This book gives the simple thoughts of a great man. The first part deals entirely with Masaryk's philosophy while the second half is a series of lectures on how to work, delivered at the University of Prague as early as 1898. (Incidentally, why is it that democratic politics so seldom give us leaders of culture?)

Possibly some may feel that the book is too simple. There are one or two places where it is painfully trite, as, for instance, "The question arises; to attend or not to attend lectures? I should answer, attend some, not others." a sentence which appears under the heading of "Concerning Education in the Universities." With this criticism the book may be heartily recommended as containing much quiet wisdom. One can only hope that it may be read by other prominent statesmen in Europe.

The author's view of nationalism is summed up in the quotation from the Czech poet, Kollar, "When you say 'Slav' may it ever mean 'Man'." Masaryk believes that humanity and nationality can and should go hand in hand. One wonders how long such a simple truth can wait for recognition in political circles.

There are many lessons in this book of particular interest to pacifists. I will list them quite inconsequently:

I myself know from experience that each association lives and is energetic as long as it has no bye-laws as soon as the club acquires a constitution and becomes formal and crystallized it merely vegetates and declines.

Let us not find pleasure in martyrdom. We ought not to love death If we say, away with torturers we must add, "Away with martyrs." As long as there are torturers there will be martyrs but so long as there are martyrs there will be torturers.

For that matter most of this sacrificing that we hear about exists only in fancy, little of it is real. It is often a religious and moral luxury in which we indulge. Utopianism, Titanism, mysticism, and sentimentalism, and not a strong or healthy feeling.

I hope that these quotations will whet the appetites of PEACE NEWS readers. Whilst the book is unequal, as is inevitable in a collection of lectures given over a long period of time, there are many fundamental truths quietly stated in simple words. The sophisticated intellectual may be impatient with the book, but for my part I found it a pleasure to be in company with such an uncomplicated mind.

PHILIP S. MUMFORD.

FOUR ECONOMISTS AND A PHILOSOPHER

The World's Economic Future. Halley Stewart Lectures, 1937. Allen & Unwin. 4s. 6d.

The Halley Stewart Trust has once

again fulfilled admirably its annual task of presenting to a lay public a series of lectures by experts on social and political matters.

The last series is by four economists and one statesman-philosopher, who attempt to foresee the tendencies and potentialities of economic life which may be expected or realized in the future. Messrs. Loveday, Condliffe, Ohlin, and Heckscher, the economists, present an account of a world in transition, the factors conditioning the change being principally the decline in population, the increased proportion of fixed capital employed in production, and the rise in the standard of living in civilized communities.

The effect is to increase the bumpiness of the economic system, owing to the transfer of demand from necessities to luxuries, caused by the first and third factors, and the increased difficulty in adapting existing equipment to changed demand. This has led to the growth of restrictions by monopolistic institutions and governments, to defend vital interests.

For Mr. Loveday, the solution is an awakened sense of the interdependence of economic and national groups which, he asserts, must come, and can be hurried. This is fatally optimistic, and ignores the effort which can be made by a country to improve international economics, without waiting for others to fall into line.

An adequate step in the direction of Free Trade—unilateral economic disarmament—coupled with a dose of public work or tax relief, when depression is upon us, would at least bring one country around the corner, and help to relieve the constriction in other countries.

Professor Ohlin sees the solution of the problem in the development of greater control of industry without actual ownership. Town planning he takes as his ideal. Controlled capitalism is his panacea. This is surely incorrect. Shandy gaff measures in economics produce greater constriction than ever. There must be a choice between liberalism and public ownership.

Professor Condliffe provides us with an adequate account of the shift of economic leadership from Britain to the USA, and a reminder that real leadership is based on cultural development, and not on the guarding of vested interests. Professor Heckscher also offers some interesting facts relating to the shift from agriculture and industry to distribution and services.

Finally, there is the peculiar lecture of Señor de Madariaga, whose views on the requisites of future world societies have recently been expounded in *The World's Design*. Señor de Madariaga envisages a world society in which the finer essences of Liberalism (intellectual freedom), communism (brotherhood), fascism (heirarchy), religion (consciousness of a human destiny), and internationalism (cooperation between cultures) will be combined without the less worthy aspects of these "mental settings."

How this world state is to be evolved is not explained, nor is the difference between it and an enlightened programme of liberalism, communism or internationalism made at all clear.

These lectures can be recommended to all lay readers who wish to secure an authentic account of the probable shape of economic things to come. They are embellished by an excellent introduction in Mr. Dennis Robertson's best style.

G. VAN LOO.

INTERNATIONAL CONTROL

Empire. Published from 15 South Hill Park Gardens, London, N.W.3. Monthly, 3d.

"We do not believe that the threat of war in Europe is something entirely separate and distinct from the fact of the British Empire." Thus the editors of this new monthly deny that Empire problems are "secondary matter" to the threat of European war. They believe that "if democracy has any meaning at all it means something which applies equally to people with other than white skins," and they call for a declared policy of international control.

The purpose of the paper is not, however, to be a vehicle of editorial opinion so much as a collection of facts about the Empire, and of opinions of people directly concerned. In the first (June) issue, for instance, both Nehru and Subhas Chandra Bose write on India

PACIFIST PRECEDENTS

My Part in a Changing World. By Emmeline Pethick-Lawrence. Gollancz. 15s.

Reviewed by Max Plowman

EVERY young person secretly desires to achieve eminence. How is it attained? What makes a person eminent? As a young person myself, I used to think it depended upon the abnormal endowment of some quality—brain, brawn, courage, or character; but now I think the attainment of any desirable eminence depends entirely upon the capacity for devotion. The saints, heroes and wholly beautiful people I have met in my time have all shown one distinguishing characteristic: they had an unbounded capacity for whole-hearted devotion. It was in the exercise of this capacity that they became eminent.

One's heart leaps up at the thought. For what is life demanding of the young people who are going to lay the foundations of peace in the hideously turbulent world of today but whole-hearted devotion? And in the long run, to whom can the eminence of a place in the history of our times be given, but to those who have shown this same capacity? So it is that the loveliest sight vouchsafed to anyone past middle age today is the sight of young people who, in the energy of their devotion, seem to be springing up like young poplars in the marshy undergrowth of contentious political weeds; for in their power of devotion, to what is essentially a religious ideal, is the quality which is going to redeem our world from its all too evident decay.

To every one of them I would commend Mrs. Pethick-Lawrence's record of a life which never for a moment appears to have been devoid of this quality. *My Part in a Changing World* is about the gayest and bravest autobiography I have ever read, perhaps because it seems to be all about everything but its author. It has the spirit of gallant adventure, of wide and generous humanity, of simplicity and clarity of vision which themselves call forth love and devotion, being as they are the very wings by which the human spirit takes flight.

This is, indeed, a book that ought to be demanded from the library of every PPU group leader; for, apart from its larger qualities, it is a plain text-book to the organizer of any propagandist movement who really wants to know how to do his job efficiently. Its parallels to the problems and difficulties which naturally beset the PPU are highly entertaining; for Mrs. Lawrence has lived through, in the Suffrage Movement, moments which correspond exactly with those which now confront the peace movement.

There is the same orthodox timidity, the same band of ardent young rebels, the same backbone of wholly-devoted, long-suffering men and women whose faith is their entire support; above all, there is in Mrs. Pethick-Lawrence the same tolerant and large-hearted good humour which the pacifist followers of Dick Sheppard have learnt to recognize as the very talisman of triumph. She has that forward-looking zest which persists in peering through the murk of controversy to the vision of a world transformed—transformed as it will be, by its own generosity.

So it is not surprising that Mrs. Lawrence's accomplishment in the matter of women's suffrage does not keep her looking back. At the end of that engrossing story she is able to write:

A change of heart is the essence of all other change, and it is brought about by a re-education of the mind. . . . Because I have witnessed a change of heart and a corresponding change in circumstance happen many times, I cherish the dream, which is also a faith, that it is going to happen again. And when that dream "comes true" it will mean an end of war for ever.

(Continued from Col. 3.)

and imperial war. There is an account of last year's strikes in Trinidad, and collections of extracts on the Gold Coast cocoa price war, and on the South African Protectorates.

There is no doubt that such a paper will be of great service to anyone who is speaking or thinking about peace problems.

Special terms of subscription are offered to groups who arrange for three or more subscribers.

Dear Sir . . .

AIR RAID PRECAUTIONS

IT is very apparent that it would need only a few days scare propaganda in the daily press to panic the British public into the acceptance of the prosecution of a war.

Discussion about ARP helps neither side. It only brings the feeling of the inevitability of war. But the PPU must be vigilant and able to present to the public, without any fancy trimmings, the exact measure of protection that ARP, in their present form, will give.

More strongly the PPU must present the constructive side of pacifism that leads to the abolition of policy which leads to the need for ARP. Not forgetting to remind men and women that Keir Hardie's suggestion "when men refuse to fight, then there will be no more war" still holds a lot of truth, despite the advance of the new social pacifism.

Our biggest obstructionists are those numerous people who say "We are peace loving, England is not aggressive, but we are prepared to fight if necessary." Such people are the hardest to convince, for, far from being peace loving, they believe in war. They preach the effectiveness of the war method and are prepared to use it. They deceive themselves and are the gullible people who fall without thinking for scare propaganda. Don't let them deceive us.

When we have honestly assessed the effectiveness of ARP can we have an honest assessment of the effectiveness of PPU should war arise?

WALTER W. BUSH.
Boultham Park Road, Lincoln.

THE CHRISTIAN VIEW

The question of Christian pacifists participating in ARP schemes has disturbed the minds of many of us, as we have found by conversation and correspondence. Confusion between the arguments of the effectiveness of the schemes and the principle involved in supporting them, seems to be the chief cause of the puzzlement. Yet it would appear that both lines of attack on ARP hit the mark.

With regard to the first argument, that they

are ineffective the Cambridge Scientists' inquiry certainly appears conclusive. As far as I am aware the three groups of the population most in need of protection, the very young, the very old, and the very poor, do in fact get least.

The second argument, and as I think the only valid one for Christian pacifists, is that ARP violate the faith and principles of Christian pacifism. This, for us, is the real point at issue. Our root objection to war and war preparations is that they are wrong and sub-Christian, "contrary to the spirit, teaching, and purpose of our Lord Jesus Christ," not that they are ineffective.

Our decision about ARP, then, must be based on the consideration as to whether, in our judgment, such schemes are likely to strengthen our drive for disarmament and international conciliation, and hasten the Kingdom of God, or whether they will simply accelerate the present drift toward war by fostering the war mentality.

I am satisfied that general (and particularly Christian) acquiescence in ARP will only have the effect of bringing war nearer by procuring beforehand the regimentation of the people. But even if ARP would mitigate suffering in the event of war (which appears doubtful), Christians cannot always serve the direct and immediate interests of the community and at the same time remain faithful to the long view of God's purpose as they see it.

Our primary loyalty is to God. Our faith is based on the Cross of Christ as demonstrating God's method for dealing with evil. To admit ARP into the Christian pacifist camp would be to entertain once again the Trojan horse (this time in the guise of an ostrich.)

H. RICHMOND STUART.
Chairman, Richmond College
Methodist Peace Fellowship.

CYCLISTS

I was very interested to see in PEACE NEWS dated April 30, the letter of Mr. F. Gregory, regarding the Cyclists' Touring Club and ARP.

Although I have not yet signed the PPU pledge I wholly agree with its principles and I have written to the CTC protesting against its action and resigning my membership. In their reply they only point out that many members do not agree with the whole of the club's policy and it is always open to them not to associate with the part with which they do not agree—which is not the point.

If there are any others in my area who have lost their cycling company because of this action I should also like to hear from them.

D. E. POOLE.
84 Oxford Street, Starchley, Birmingham.

LABOUR VIE V

As a strong champion of the Labour Party I hesitate to take up the cudgels on its behalf with those pacifists who have had more opportunity for pondering the implications of rearmament than I.

However, my reaction to Labour's present policy may be typical of many Labour Party members and may help your readers to understand the Labour man's point of view.

We are with you a hundred percent in putting international justice and economic cooperation in the forefront of our programme. Indeed Lansbury was our champion before yours. But we think that the problem of peace today is twofold (1) Removing the causes of war, (2) preventing further acts of aggression making the situation worse in the meantime.

We put much importance on the second point and feel that a counter policy of bluff will stem the dictators' march.

Pacifism we feel should either be introduced gradually as the ground is prepared for it or adopted as the last refuge in a hopeless situation.

DAN.

VIVISECTION

Addresses have already been given to a number of PPU groups by our speakers on the subject of vivisection, and I think it is probable that other groups would care to hear something about this very important question.

Its importance may be judged by the fact that there were, in the last year for which we have statistics, over 800,000 experiments ("calculated to cause pain") on living animals in Great Britain alone, of which about five percent were done under anaesthetics.

Whatever the claims made by the supporters of this practice—and we can deal very effectively with these—it is clear that a very strong ethical objection to vivisection is at least reasonable.

In addition to the medical aspect of this experimentation there are, we believe, social and other important considerations involved, though I will not trespass on your space by outlining them.

If any groups would like to hear more about this subject, will they kindly write and ask for a speaker?

LEO RODENHURST,
Secretary, British Union for
the Abolition of Vivisection.

47, Whitehall, S.W.1.

Perhaps readers who are interested in the subject would be glad to know of a series of books by Laurence Housman and Marten, which are far and away superior to any others from the peace angle. They consist of a graded series of four books:—

- Book 1. *Down the Ages.*
- Book 2. *Stories of Greece, Rome, and the East.*
- Book 3. *Stories of the Middle Ages.*
- Book 4. *Stories of the Modern World.*

(Published: Basil Blackwell, Oxford.)

As a historical reader for older children I can heartily recommend *Early English Travel and Discovery*, by A. W. Seers. Published by Harrap. It has excellent peace sentiments.

H. M. COLES.
Harrowden Vicarage, Wellingborough.

Martyrdom

IT seems to me of vital interest to pacifism that pacifists should think very straight on the subject of Mr. Ward's article. Let no one forget that a pacifist is a revolutionary. He stands for something which is in defiance of the law and for which he may be shot as a traitor or at best put into a concentration camp in time of war.

Like Margery Mumford I have no desire to be a martyr, but just as I find it impossible not to tell everyone I meet that if they all refuse to sanction war our Government must perforce find another means of settling international grievances, so do I also realize that in my unimportant way I am undermining government influence.

I thoroughly agree with Mr. Ward that more training is needed on the lines of active non-violent resistance, and I wish that PPU members could start camps for training on the lines recommended by Gregg. We all know it is more difficult to be a pacifist than a militarist, yet the soldier's training is accepted as a matter of course while ours is dismissed as an extravagant flight of the mystical-minded. When the test comes we shall be enormously strengthened if we have a corporate strength to lean on. It is not easy and not always very effective to be a lone pacifist.

MARION MILLETT.

4 Wildwood Terrace, N.W.3.

There is one "law of life" which, with Margery Mumford, we must all accept, and that is that human beings are complex creatures, full of moods and inconsistencies.

Have we not all felt at times, as does my friend Mr. Ward, impatience at the pettiness of our efforts, and a longing to do some great thing to prove our sincerity? More especially have we such feelings when we meet friends from abroad, who tell us that it is easy for us to be pacifists; for them on the continent it is nigh impossible.

But at other moments we know that patience and endurance may win where a more democratic action might fail. So to Mrs. Mumford's main doubt the answer is to be found in Mr. Ward's own words (in *Let Us Honour Peace*) "There is no truth, no value, in the pacifist who welcomes persecution. . . . Timely death can come only to him who has followed every valid hope of living. . . ."

H. KAY JONES.

14 Gordon Square, W.C.1.

Pacifist Budget

IN "social pacifist's" nineteen-point Budget there is only one point that touches the better part of man. It is number ten; "Pacifist State Theatres."

Does man live by bread alone? Are the common people, for whose bodily and material well-being "social pacifist" is so concerned, simply living animals, or are they rational beings? The curse of our age is not that we have too little, but that we have forgotten the art of being content and going without things.

All happiness we seek from outside, and "social pacifist" seems to think that when the common people have all the good things he lists they will be happy and content. He forgets that it is not what a man has that makes him happy but what he is, and that therefore, the development of his own being and of his mental capacities is the primary necessity for his happiness. He forgets that it is through the spirit that man and the world can be saved, and not through bodily comforts.

Let the dictators shout to the world their accomplishments in the material and bodily improvement of their people. We must have other cares first. The material betterments we will also make but regard them simply as the natural outcome of man's ingenuity and intelligence, and nothing more. Ignorance, not poverty and want, is the main cause of war and unrest.

The way of "social pacifist" is the way of the dictators. They lure the masses with material advantages and rob them of their souls. Let the English masses be warned and watchful lest they should also fall into the trap.

It was in March, 1882, that Garibaldi made his last appearance in public when he visited Palermo on the occasion of the six hundredth anniversary of the Sicilian Vespers. On his return to Capraia he sent to the town that had honoured him a letter which ended with the words: "Build up in your centre, where so many generous hearts beat, a brotherhood under the name of Deliverer of the human intelligence—the duty of which will be to fight ignorance, to awaken the free thought and to give to the people the religion of truth and goodness instead of lies."

Having made and freed Italy, the great and simple man knew that to save it and keep it free the Italians had to be made. Had his countrymen taken his words to heart, they would not be ruled by a dictator today—in spite of their poverty—and they would be free.

Here then is my Peace Budget. After dealing specially with the aged and the infirm I should cure unemployment by

(continued on page 14, col. 1.)

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(Continued from Page 13, Col. 4).

great public works, and then I should proceed with these:—

1. Bringing school-leaving age to sixteen with grants to families with small incomes.
2. Creation of great film studios for the production of good, instructive, thought-stirring films. Heavy duty on imported rubbish.
3. Free cinemas and theatres for concerts, operas and drama, in the poorer districts, with good production of good things.
4. Grants to lecturers and publishers of good books. Heavy tax on penny dreadfuls, tuppennybloods, murder and silly love stories.
5. Making it possible for every boy and girl to go on studying after sixteen, if he or she desires to do so.
6. Special prizes in the form of long stays in foreign countries for students of foreign languages and literature, and world history.
7. Special grants to scientists and artists of all kinds, so that they may be relieved from material cares.
8. Creation of a great number of social centres with reading, lecture, and discussion rooms as well as small stage, besides the usual amenities.
9. I should shower money on the schools and training colleges and their equipment.
10. Many more playing fields on which the children will learn that most difficult thing in the art of living, i.e., to lose the game.

LILY LENZI.

London.

USE OF FORCE

Amongst the many divergent views which are held today on foreign policy there seems to be one on which most people of all nations agree, and that is that the use of force as used in Abyssinia, China and Spain, and exemplified in our own armament programme, is the final and most efficient way of defending our own ideas of justice and freedom against those of others.

Locke says: "The great and chief end of men uniting into commonwealths and putting themselves under governments is the preservation of their property." This is the real cause of their defence, and it is this idea of the rightness to possess property at the expense of someone else that will have to go if we want to avoid war and the recurrence of the "have" and "have not" nations which followed the last war.

The time has come when nations and individuals must realize that it is their duty to distribute goods and land and not to withhold them from the consumer, who through no fault of his own cannot pay the price that is demanded for them.

War is the inevitable by-product of our acquisitive society, and the sooner this is realized the better.

WALTER HEWITT.
GEORGE H. DIXON.

Dringhoe Grange,
Skipsea, near Driffield.

THE IMPLICATIONS OF PACIFISM

Pacifism is not only a question of attending meetings and writing occasional letters to the newspapers; it is a complete way of living. Difficult as it is to give up a good job, it seems rather useless to spend the day as a part of the capitalist machine, and then go away to try to destroy the very thing which one is helping to support.

Surely, if we are content to live by making a profit out of our fellow-men, if we live by cooperating in the capitalist system (by which means wars are made), we should be prepared to fight for that system which supports us.

If we go so far as renouncing war, we have no business to support all those things which cause war. If we do support them, then we should fight for them, and fight as the Government expects us to fight. It is unfortunately only too true that some pacifists are going to be content to enjoy all these "dangerous pleasures" whilst braver, better, but misguided men go out and fight and die for them.

As I see it, it is not just a refusal to participate in war; it is a refusal to have anything whatever to do with the causes of war, an indication that one is prepared at all costs to have finished with war.

HARRY HUNT.

72 Abbey Road, St. John's Wood, N.W.8.

WANTED

A friend of mine in Vienna has written to me as follows:—

For the summer-time I plan to visit England once more to participate in the work of the International Voluntary Service for Peace between August and October. I would like to come to England earlier, and ask if anyone in the peace movement could give me board and lodgings for four weeks in return for German lessons and secretarial work. I could pay, besides, a little sum—about £3, unfortunately not more. This stay would be for the purpose of improving my English knowledge.

If anyone is able to help this person, a Hungarian, would they kindly communicate with me.

WALTER W. BUSH.

66 Boultham Park Road, Lincoln.

Refugees' Craftwork

A group, composed largely of German refugees who lost all they had in Germany, chiefly because of their refusal to do military service, is working hard at the Cotswold Bruderhof in an attempt to build up new possibilities of livelihood for themselves.

While doing this the Bruderhof is constantly receiving inquiries—at the moment especially from Austrians—as to whether further refugees can be taken there.

Among the activities carried on is a turning shop where craftsmen produce useful wooden articles, whose beautiful forms and good clean workmanship witness to the fact that the craftsmen love their work. Prices of the articles range from 1s. 3d. upward.

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TUESDAY

DIARY OF THE WEEK

- May
- 21 (Sat.) ORPINGTON Station; 6.15 p.m., meet for poster parade; PPU.
BROMLEY; 8 p.m., Ethelbert Road; open-air meeting; PPU.
NORTH CHINGFORD; 8 p.m., Spicer Hall, Buxton Road; Canon Stuart Morris and Miss E. Thorneycroft; PPU.
WOKING; 8.15 p.m., YMCA, Bart Road; inaugural meeting; John Barclay; PPU.
- 21 & 22 (Sat. & Sun.) SYDENHAM; Hitherwood International Hostel, 19 Sydenham Hill; weekend conference; FOR. Details from Beatrice C. M. Brown, 165 Grays Inn Road, W.C.1.
- (Sat. and Sun.) HIGH FLAITS Guest House, near Penistone; weekend school; J. Allen Skinner; South Yorkshire Region PPU.
- 22 (Sun.) CROYDON; 10 a.m., meet East Croydon Station for 10.4 train; ramble to Three Bridges; PPU.
LEEDS; 3.15 p.m., Woodhouse Moor; youth demonstration; Miss Peggy Scriven, V. Duncan Jones, Rev. H. W. Kenneth Sandy, Kenward Knox, and Cr. D. Beevers (chairman); Peace Week.
PECKHAM; 7 p.m., Oliver Goldsmith's School; Livesey Fowler on "The World of tomorrow Control or Chaos"; LNU.
LEEDS; 8.15 p.m., Belgrave Central Church; Miss Koo Chu Chen, Canon Stuart Morris, and Alderman J. Badley (chairman); Peace Week.
- 23 (Mon.) LONDON, N.W.1; 8 p.m., Friends House, Euston Road; Mertens Peace Lecture; Dr. Christian L. Lange on "Imperialism and Peace"; Peace Committee of Society of Friends.
ORPINGTON; 8 p.m., Village Hall; Bertrand Russell, Roy Walker, and Rev. Kenneth Budd (chairman); PPU.
- 24 (Tues.) LONDON, N.W.1; 1.20 p.m., Friends House, Euston Road; A. Ruth Fry on "The Work before the Peace Pledge Union"; Peace Committee of London Friends.
LONDON, W.C.1; 7 p.m., 26 Great Ormond Street; Canterbury Easter Pilgrimage Reunion; Eric Roach, John Barclay, and others; Guildhouse Fellowship, and PPU.
CARDIFF; 7.30 p.m., Cory Hall; Bertrand Russell, Miss Mary Gamble and Rev. Ceulanydd Jones; PPU.
- LONDON, W.C.1; 7.30 p.m., Conway Hall, Red Lion Square; Anti-Imperialist Conference and Exhibition; Militant Socialist International.
- 25 (Wed.) BERNMONDSEY; 8 p.m., Central Library Hall, Spa Road; public debate; S. F. Horsey, Anthony Moore, Miss E. Thorneycroft; Peace Council.
ERDINGTON; 8 p.m., Methodist Church Room, Station Road; R. H. Ward; PPU.
KINGSWAY; 8 p.m., Wild Court; open-air meeting; Methodist Peace Fellowship.
WESTMINSTER; 8.30 p.m., 194 Vauxhall Bridge Road; Dorothy Pethick; PPU.
- 26 (Thurs.) LONDON, E.C.4; 1.10 p.m., 13 Paternoster Row; Douglas "Pethick" on "Tribunals"; City PPU group.
LONDON, E.C.4; 5.30 p.m., 13 Paternoster Row; Rev. Leslie Artingstall on "Five Important Questions"; City PPU group.
SEVEN OAKS; 7.30 p.m., Toc H; Mark Shirley; PPU.
BRISTOL; 8 p.m., Colston Hall; Vera Brittain, Dr. F. W. Norwood, H. H. Elvin, and others; National Peace Council.

- EPSOM; 8 p.m., Ebbisham Hall; Canon Stuart Morris, John Barclay and Dr. Crow; PPU.
WANDSWORTH; 8.15 p.m., Friends' Meeting House, 59 High Street; Rev. R. T. Taylor on "The Peace Movement in New Zealand"; PPU.
- 27 (Fri.) NEW CROSS; 5 p.m., Goldsmiths' College; Dr. A. Herbert Gray and Mrs. Arnold; PPU.
FULHAM; 8 p.m., Office Road, Walham Green; open-air meeting; J. H. Slack; PPU.
LEICESTER; 8 p.m., Friends' Meeting House; Mrs. L. G. H. Huxley on "The Van Zeeland Report"; Christian Pacifist Fellowship and PPU.
GOLDERS GREEN; 8.15 p.m., All Souls' Church Hall, Hoop Lane; J. F. Horrabon on "Colonies and Peace"; Dr. A. Herbert Gray (chairman); PPU.
- 27-29 (Fri.-Sun.) BRISTOL; Central Hall, Old Market; National Peace Congress; National Peace Council. Details from Gerald Bailey, 39, Victoria Street, S.W.1.
- 28 (Sat.) BEXLEY; 3 p.m., Cray House; West Kent Region Garden Party; Miss Doris Langley-Moore (opener); PPU.
CHIPPENHAM; 3.30 p.m., Congregational Schoolroom; group meeting to form North Wiltshire Regional Council; PPU.
CHIPPENHAM; 7 p.m., Congregational Schoolroom; John Barclay; PPU.
- IERNE HILL Station; 7 p.m., meet for poster parade; PPU.
- 28 and 29 (Sat. and Sun.) ILKLEY; Heathmount Hall Guest House; weekend school; PPU (admission to ticket holders only).
- 29 (Sun.) KENSINGTON; 11 a.m., Lindsey Hall, The Mall, Notting Hill Gate; Freda Utley on "The Truth about Japan"; Free Religious Movement.
PECKHAM RYE; 3 p.m., Tabernacle Baptist Church; Eric Roach.
PALMERS GREEN; 5.30 p.m., Lodge Drive; assembly for Unity March; Peace Council.
WOOD GREEN; 7.15 p.m., Town Hall grounds; mass meeting and demonstration; Peace Council.

Coming Shortly

- May
- 31 (Tues.) LONDON, N.W.1; 1.20 p.m., Friends' House, Euston Road; Max Plowman on "The work before the Peace Pledge Union"; Peace Committee of London Friends.
MANCHESTER; 8 p.m., Free Trade Hall; George Lansbury, Miss Vera Brittain, Rev. Henry Carter and Canon Stuart Morris on "The Alternative to War and Armaments—a reply to Winston Churchill"; PPU.
- June
- 1 (Wed.) PECKHAM; 8 p.m., Friends' Meeting House, Rye Lane; R. H. Ward on "Non-Violent Resistance"; PPU.
3 (Fri.) LONDON, E.1; 1.15 p.m., Friends' Institute, Commercial Road; Roy Walker on "The Peace Pledge Union"; Friday Peace Meeting.
17 (Fri.) LONDON, N.W.1; 3 p.m. and 5.45 p.m., Friends House, Euston Road; Professor Brodetsky, Mr. Musa Hussein, Dr. A. Maude Royden, Mrs. Joyce Pollard and Rev. Henry Carter; The Peace Army.
24-28 (Fri.-Tues.) CAMBRIDGE; Regent House; weekend congress. Details from the Secretary, World Congress of Faiths, 36 Victoria Street, S.W.1.

GERMAN PACIFIST, expert linguist, living in South Denmark near beautiful Flensburg Fjord, is willing to take students as boarders to learn German, Danish, Swedish, French, or Italian. Very reasonable terms. Facilities for regular German and Danish conversational practice in district. For further particulars apply War Resisters' International, 11 Abbey Road, Enfield, Middlesex, or direct to Dr. Arnold Kalisch, "Fredshjem," Roenshovod pr Rinkenæs, Denmark.

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MEETINGS, &c.

FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION (London Union). A Fellowship Hour, for communion with God and each other, is held the third Monday in each month, from 6 to 7 p.m., at 17 Red Lion Square, W.C.1. The leader on June 20 will be Rev. Bryan Reed, B.D.

PERSONAL

HOLIDAY AND RETREAT for self-development at Chamonix (French Alps), June 5 to August 12. Particulars from Dr. Har Dayal, Modern Culture Institute, Edgware.

POLITICAL

PACIFISTS who want political action should join the People's Peace Front. Particulars from Secretary, 17 Featherstone Buildings, London, W.C.1.

SERVICES

AS PLANNED BY DICK SHEPPARD. Celebrations of the Holy Communion take place in the Crypt of St. Paul's every Wednesday at 7.45 a.m., when prayers are offered for the renunciation of war and for those engaged in the peace movement.

SITUATIONS

Vacant
COMPANION-HELP, 25-35, for Egypt, September. Live as family; fond of children (2); servant kept. Full particulars to Box 89, PEACE NEWS, 17 Featherstone Buildings, London, W.C.1.

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DERBYSHIRE HILLS. Vegetarian Food Reform Guest House. Alt. 600ft. For happy holiday or restful recuperation. Increased accommodation. Central heating throughout; h. and c. water in all bedrooms. Central for conferences.—A. & K. S. Ludlow, The Briars, Crich, near Matlock. Telephone Ambergate 44. Station, Ambergate (L.M.S.).

DOWNTON, WILTSHIRE. The Misses Philpott, Country Guest House, The Borough, Downton, Wiltshire. A roomy house on the banks of the River Avon, standing in a pleasant garden. Terms moderate.

NEW FOREST. The Guest House, Godshill, Fordingbridge, Hants. Beautiful country. Riding, tennis, river bathing. Vegetarians welcome.

PAIRS for the PLATFORM

Good Business

AN indication of how the rearmament programme affects the arms firms is afforded by the following figures, relating to Vickers, Ltd.:

	Ordinary Profit Dividend	%
1933	728,246	4
1934	958,678	6
1935	1,356,239	8
1936	1,696,223	10
1937	2,008,032	10

"Danger" of Good Crop

UNDER the heading "Outlook for Wheat: Danger of Excess Supplies," an article in the *Financial News* on April 21 declared that:

A poor crop seems essential if the price is to be reasonable; and a real crop failure if the price is to be good. Apart from the possibility of large Government purchases continued bad weather is the only way out.

Another sidelight on this state of affairs—from *Voice of Ulster* for April:

Our newspapers daily keep us informed of the value of cocoa as a food for man. . . . A few days ago we were informed by wireless that cocoa growers on the Gold Coast, faced with a large crop of cocoa which they could not hope to sell, were proceeding to burn it to preserve themselves from ruin.

Our Pacifist Press

IS the beating-up of people the best way to curb their savage instincts? Surely it is just meeting violence with violence.

—*Daily Mirror's* reply to a reader, April 7.

"The Interests of this Country"

REPLYING to the criticism that we were still exporting war material, Sir T. Inskip said that every case was examined, and care was taken that the export was in the interests of this country. There had been a tendency to exaggerate the amount or the number of these exports.

They had in all cases been for the purpose of supplying the needs of friendly or allied countries to whom we were in one way or another committed. We had exported no arms whatever to either of the dictator countries nor to Spain.

—*Manchester Guardian*, April 6.

Second Place

ALL true Christians and Catholics in Austria were on the side of the Nazis. "But we shall never allow religious belief to be brought forward as an argument in temporal disputes."

"We shall never tolerate the splitting of the German people again into religious denominations and we demand, as we are all entering upon an hour of destiny for the nation, that faithful Catholics and faithful Protestants be Germans first and last."

—Dr. von Seyss-Inquart, reported in *The Times*, April 7.

Profit on Planes

PROFIT per complete aeroplane manufactured under the Government's "shadow" factory scheme is £300 or £275. Of this, £75 is permitted profit on the manufacture of the engine and £200 or £225 on the manufacture of the airframe.

An incentive to economy on the part of six companies running shadow factories as government agents is provided by a bonus scheme. Under it the companies will receive from 12½ to 17½ per cent of the amount by which the net cost is less than a basic price.

—*Financial Times*.

"Soft and Slow"

WHAT our Continental critics are saying, according to Sir Samuel Hoare, in a speech at Blackpool on May 7:

The English are too soft and too slow. Being very rich they think too much of their own comfort and too little of their national obligations.

They have carried free discussion to such a point that they spend months and years in talking about rearmament, when the dictatorships carry out their programmes in as many days or weeks with a military precision that, apart from its immediate efficiency, is an invaluable discipline for the whole people. With these hesitations, delays, and complacencies, England cannot hold its own with the mechanized autocracies.

Sir Samuel went on to say there was "a measure of truth in these criticisms." The trend of his ideas may be gathered from his subsequent words:

Looking back, we can now say that if the needs of rearmament had been faced two years earlier there would never have been the disturbing events of the Abyssinian crisis. A Government and a Foreign Secretary without adequate force behind them in an international emergency can never hope to have their wishes respected. Being wise men, let us take note of these experiences and let us lose no avoidable time in completing our programme of defence.

Parliamentary Notes

WHAT WILL MR. CHURCHILL DO NOW?

THE most interesting thing about the re-shuffled Cabinet is that Mr. Churchill is not included.

It is freely rumoured among Conservative MPs in the lobbies that Churchill had no other purpose in the institution of his new "Arms and Security" campaign at Manchester than to provide himself with a bargaining counter in the game of Cabinet making. He thanked the churches in the Free Trade Hall of Manchester for supporting his campaign. It is doubtful whether either the churches or the LNU which sponsored the meeting, had the least notion of Mr. Churchill's real aims.

His exclusion from the Cabinet for so long has been galling to him. His hopes began to rise with the departure of Mr. Baldwin, who never trusted him. His adulatory references to Mr. Neville Chamberlain have been marked. At Manchester, he was careful to note that his aims were irrealizable save through the agency of united national Government.

The façade of Mr. Chamberlain's "national" Cabinet was therefore to be preserved, but only because Mr. Churchill expected to help to compose it.

But it was all of no avail. Everyone laughed when they heard of Lord Baldwin's visit to the Premier. Everyone knew the Churchill hand was played and lost.

So what now? I write before the second debate on the Air Ministry takes place, so I can only guess at the next Churchill tactics. It is reasonable to assume that we shall still get from him the highly coloured accounts of our all-round deficiency in the air arm as compared with Germany. He will make the most of the fact that the best Earl Winton could promise was a first-line defence of 3,500 planes by 1940. Mr. Churchill will assert, as he has already suggested, that Germans are able to produce and equip 6,000 such planes per annum.

Imperceptibly, we shall find that the "terrible" deficiency in planes which was to serve as the reason why Mr. Churchill should enter the Cabinet has become the reason for getting rid of the Cabinet.

And while Mr. Churchill encourages the churches and the LNU at Manchester, in the precincts of Parliament he has cast out already his feelers toward Labour and the Liberals. At one time he hoped, too, for a Conservative following. But in the last few days that has largely vanished.

Can Mr. Churchill count on any greater likelihood of success on the Left now that his "national" plans have broken down on the Right?

I don't think he can. But it is amazing and disturbing to hear Labour MPs in the lobbies showering high praise on their former *bête noire*. The Labour Executive Manifesto last weekend condemning the "United Peace Front," a very sane document in itself, has not won universal approval.

Even more disturbing, and Mr. Churchill is probably counting on this, the tactics now being adopted in the air debates by the Labour Party, will prove disastrous to their own case.

How can Labour vote against the air

Why Not Stop the Demonstrations?

WILL you please use your influence so that, whenever demonstration air raids are given, the particulars inviting the public to attend should warn mothers not to bring very young children? We have just had in Leeds two grim and, I am sure, necessary demonstrations of how we might be attacked by aeroplanes and what precautions are needed to ward them off.

Some mothers took their babies, and it was pitiful, when the guns went off with a crash beyond all expectation, to hear the babies shriek in terror and refuse to be comforted. It is to be feared that such an experience for a small child may cause irreparable harm to the nervous system.

—From a letter published in *The Times*.

A Balanced Budget

IN five years our nation is going to spend on armaments as much as the total cost of the League of Nations for 1,000 years, or as much as our contribution to it for 10,000 years.

Mr. Noel-Baker, MP, reported in the *Daily Herald*, April 11.

By Our Lobby Correspondent

armaments year after year and then accuse the Government of being behind-hand in the air programme? They have none of their own conviction to rely on. They cannot even say the "adequate" air arm, if we are to have it, is for "collective security." They admit that the Government has destroyed "collective security."

Labour's motion last week purports to tell the Government that the defences at present provided are entirely inadequate; that they must be at once raised to a point sufficient for every purpose.

The Labour Party, least of all, is able to shed any light on what this point of safety is, or whether such a point ever can be reached in a world where every step on one side is followed (or even preceded) by an equal or longer step on the other.

The opposition thus chooses the best possible ground to enable the Government to score off it.

Government and Opposition alike know, what every pacifist knows, that there can be no standard by which adequacy or inadequacy can be decided. Before the War we used to talk of a "two-power" standard as the "adequate" guarantee of our safety. Later, Mr. Baldwin laid down plain "parity" as the standard. Even that cannot be defined. Is it to be parity in the noxiousness of our prisons as well as in guns and planes and men?

The inquiry into adequacy of which Mr. Churchill and the Liberal and Labour Parties have made themselves the champions was described by Mr. Churchill as an effort "to lay aside every impediment and sweep away every obstacle that stands in the path of our regaining our national safety." Does even Mr. Churchill know where national safety lies amidst the welter of choking fumes, high explosives, hurtling planes; this hopeless confusion of devilry which modern war has become?

What we do know is this—and the Labour Party knows nothing more than this—that in the view of every expert the major weapons of today are incapable of defence.

They can only be tried out as between two contestants in a competition of attack and destruction which at the end will leave little or nothing behind of the civilian populations who innocently thought, under Mr. Churchill's guidance, the weapons were provided for their "safety."

But, of course, we do not deny that weapons of defence are not entirely without their beneficent results, even if we do not all share in the benefits.

This was made clear in the press immediately after the announcement that Labour was going to press for "adequate" armament. In the *Evening News* for the Monday prior to the Labour Party's motion on Thursday, the City Editor commented as follows:

Aircraft manufacturing shares showed a further general advance at the close of Stock Markets today.

The hope that Thursday's debate on the Air programme will lead to the desired speed-up, coupled with publicity given to some of the latest models over the weekend, brought in buyers.

Aircrafts formed the best feature in Industrial sections, a general rise taking place on the hope that the air programme will now go ahead with greater benefit to the companies.

In one day, there was a rise in shares for Bristol Aero of 10½d., Fairey 9d., Handley Page 3s. 1½d., Hawker-Sid. 4½d., De Havilland 1s. I should think some of these will want to join the "United Peace Front." They add more by far to the value of their shares with the help of Labour Party motions than Mr. R. R. Stokes, MP, the victor of Ipswich, could squeeze out of their profits.

The Labour Party may have time to weigh these consequences of a policy which is now allying it with Mr. Churchill.

WE'RE ALL ARMING FOR PEACE

In Germany there used to be men who were always saying "Down with fighting! No more war!" and at the same time they allowed war to be waged openly in their own country.

I know this slogan, "No more war!" It is mine, too. For that very reason I made Germany strong, and set it on its own feet.

But in order to be so strong that no foreign threats can disturb our people, it is necessary to extirpate that internal struggle which would hinder us using our force abroad. We must not only say "No more war," but also "No more civil war. No more class war."

—Herr Hitler, reported in *Völkischer Beobachter*, May 2.

Three Premiers Speak

Britain's "Peace" Policy

FOLLOWING are points from a speech by Mr. Neville Chamberlain, at a meeting in the Albert Hall, London, last week, in which he reaffirmed the Government's aim of "peace through rearmament":

The main object of the Government's foreign policy is the establishment and the maintenance of peace.

If anyone were to attack us we should have to defend ourselves. That is the purpose of our rearmament. We have to make ourselves so strong that it will not be worth the while of anyone to attempt to attack us.

The other half of our peace policy is to try to find out what are the likely causes of war and to remove them; to enter into friendly conversations and negotiations with other Powers. That policy is already bearing fruit.

The mere fact that we have made this agreement with Italy has resulted in a perceptible easing of the tension, and the approval with which it has been received shows that it is generally recognized as a long step forward in the direction of general appeasement and peace.

France and Italy—"Opposite Sides"

A REFERENCE to the Italo-French conversations was the most important point in a speech delivered by Signor Mussolini at Genoa on Saturday. He declared:

You will allow me to be circumspect about our conversations with France, since they are still in progress. I do not know if they will reach a conclusion, because in one extremely vital matter, the war in Spain, we stand on opposite sides of the barricade. Their desire is for the victory of Barcelona; we, on the other hand, want Franco to win.

At the commencement of his speech Mussolini had dealt in detail with Italy's reasons for supporting Germany at the time of the Anschluss. The whole diplomatic episode connected with the name of Stresa (the Anglo-French-Italian agreement of 1935) was now dead and buried. Italy could never have permitted herself the luxury of interfering with the national revolution of another people.

Referring to Britain, Mussolini said Mr. Chamberlain's last speech showed an attempt to free himself from the delusion of Shibboleths and recognize the new Italy for what she was.

Hungary Backs the Axis

THE new government of Hungary—whose formation is a sequel to Nazi agitation in that country since the German march into Austria—announced its plans on Saturday.

The Prime Minister told the Hungarian House of Deputies that his government intended to introduce—

Compulsory national labour service;
Compulsory medical advice before marriage;

Reform of fiscal system to safeguard savings of the small man;

Redistribution of land through introduction of long-term leases.

The Premier promised "ruthless repression" for the "spirit of negation and revolt," although, as a Christian, he said he was for the triumph of moderation.

In the sphere of foreign policy, he indicated close relations with Italy and Germany.

The need for a policy that . . . was developed along the line of friendly negotiation based on strength of arms and firmness of purpose is something that the Opposition seems quite unable or unwilling to grasp. The fact is that opposition Labour, having talked pacifism for many years, does not like the look of it when it sees it in action. . . . Today, when nations are armed and when things we care for are being trampled on, our true belief in a policy of peace is being tested.

This Government is engaged in a policy of conciliation, trying to bring an all too uneasy world to see reason and to believe in methods of reason. Behind that policy stands our growing armament.

—Lord De la Warr, Lord Privy Seal, in a speech in Glasgow, May 14.

PEACE NEWS

May 21, 1938

Growing Danger of "Fascism Without the Shirt"

CIVIL SERVANTS' RIGHTS RESTRICTED

REVELATIONS of the extent to which the civil liberties of one class of the community are now being curtailed were made at the annual conference of the Civil Service Clerical Association last week.

A few days previously the question of liberty of conscience was discussed at a conference held by the National Council for Civil Liberties, when the position of pacifists was considered.

"It is common knowledge," said Mr. W. J. Brown, general secretary of the CSCA, at the annual conference in Margate, "that government departments have recently threatened journalists with the use of the Official Secrets Act to prevent them from publishing facts which the Government wanted to suppress."

"It is not commonly known, and I make it public for the first time, that at least one department of the civil service has sought to use the Official Secrets Act to prevent us from tendering relevant evidence on a case affecting the conditions of civil servants whom we are representing."

Mr. Brown went on to reveal how, on receipt of the threatening letter, a reply had been sent to the effect that, unless the letter were withdrawn and burnt, it would be published and the department in question challenged to take proceedings against the association. The letter was, in fact, burnt.

"FASCISM WITHOUT THE SHIRT"

The incident, said Mr. Brown, was "significant of the growth of this repressive tendency of the Government." There was a threat to liberty from "the insidious approach of totalitarianism and fascism without the shirt."

In another case a civil servant had been threatened with dismissal if he published a book he had written on Central Europe.

The conference unanimously carried a resolution assuring the executive of whole-hearted support, and endorsing the line already taken.

Resistance to the War Machine

From Our Own Correspondent

THE question of liberty of conscience was discussed at the opening session of a weekend conference held by the National Council for Civil Liberties at Old Jordans Hostel, near Beaconsfield, Buckinghamshire.

Miss A. Ruth Fry explained that, as a Quaker, her only obedience was to the dictates of religion, and the demands of the State must be subject to this.

During the last war she objected to any form of war service, even in connexion with nursing the wounded, as this was all part of the war machine, and she would take the same stand against conscription or any other war preparation.

She said that there was at present no Quaker pronouncement on air raid precautions, but that in her view this was a definite part of war preparation. She and many other Quakers would refuse to cooperate, and a number of educationists and nurses whom she knew would refuse to drill or to take part in these preparations, although some of the nurses would be willing to learn how to assist victims of gas attacks.

PACIFISTS IN WAR SITUATION

With regard to pacifists in a war situation, Kenneth Ingram took the view that the State was justified in taking active measures against them only if the non-participation of the pacifist minority in war preparations was likely to cause the defeat of the State.

On grounds of expediency a State might be justified in penalizing pacifist propaganda by withholding privileges

granted to the combatants. If, in spite of these disabilities, the pacifists were still able to persuade the majority to abstain from war work, it would be the duty of the State to make peace, as in these circumstances in carrying on the war it would be representing a minority of the people.

LIBERTY AND CULTURE

Mr. Neil Lawson, a barrister and a member of the Executive Committee of the Council, described the legal restrictions imposed on free expression of thought and opinion. The laws against sedition and disaffection, libel, slander, and obscenity all tended to check free expression.

More dangerous was the revival of old legislation such as the law of public mischief.

This was used in the early nineteenth century to stamp out duelling, but there was a danger in its present application. Recently the Chief Constable at Penzance applied to the Home Office asking them to prosecute the local branch of the Peace Pledge Union for their propaganda in connexion with air raid precautions as constituting a public mischief.

Professor J. D. Bernal described the limitation of culture in the field of science and research, where the application of science was increasingly restricted to serve certain commercial and economic ends.

VESTED INTERESTS IN A.R.P.

Truth about the "Fourth Army"

JUST as the rearmament programme has created vested interests in the manufacture of armaments, so the Government's air raid precautions plans are giving thousands of people a financial interest in the campaign.

In *The Chemist and Druggist*, for example, an advertisement reminded the retail chemist that ARP "means new business and extra profits for you," and urged him to

Take advantage of the new Government ARP drive. Display these sets in your window or on your counter. It will pay you handsomely.

An editorial comment in the same journal welcomed the opportunity for "every chemist to make his customers 'ARP-minded.'"

"PERMANENT FEATURE"

The Inspector-General of Air Raid Precautions declared recently that ARP had to be regarded as a permanent feature of civilian life.

Sir Samuel Hoare's appeal to the churches formed the subject of comment in *The Baptist Times* last week, the attitude adopted being that "it is impossible for us to say, when he asks us as citizens to help him, that, though we believe he ought to do it, we mean to do precisely nothing about it." The article went on to quote the parable of the Good Samaritan as justifying participation in ARP.

FALSE SENSE OF SECURITY

The attitude of the Boy Scout Movement was indicated in a letter from the movement's headquarters, quoted by a member in a letter to the *Bournemouth Daily Echo*. Although there was "no reason why a conscientious objector should not be granted a warrant as Scoutmaster," the fact was recorded that the Chief Scout and the Executive Committee had "offered the appropriate department of the Home Office the



Members of the Peace Pledge Union meeting for one of their Saturday evening poster parades through the West End of London.

An article about these poster parades appears on page four.

Chingford Peace Week

From Our Own Correspondent

THE Chingford (Essex) Peace Week, in which the local group of the Peace Pledge Union effectively co-operated with various organizations, included amongst its efforts an opening parade, public meetings, addressed by international speakers, a mass meeting in the largest local cinema, peace services in the churches, three performances of *Journey's End* (each playing to a crowded house), two peace exhibitions, and open-air meetings.

Railway station, bus stops, and cinemas were visited by a car with a megaphone.

The cooperation promises very satisfactory results. The PPU is following up with a public meeting today, at which Stuart Morris and Elizabeth Thorneycroft will be the speakers.

LEADERSHIP UNDER DEMOCRACY

"**D**EMOCRACY is essentially not only a method of securing consent, which may mean little more than passive acquiescence or mass-emotion, but the contribution of as many people as possible to the process of discussion and responsibility for action," said A. Barratt Brown, principal of Ruskin College, Oxford, when he delivered the annual Swarthmore Lecture in Friends House, London, on Monday.

In order to distribute responsibility, a special kind of leadership was required, he said, not a mere delegation of particular jobs, but an attitude of mind which encouraged the growth of spontaneous group life and group leadership.

"SOVIET SYSTEM"

Mr. Brown outlined the constitution of the Society of Friends. It was a kind of Soviet system, he said—a pyramidal structure based on the local unit or "preparative meeting"; but with this difference, that attendance at any one of the ascending series of business meetings was not confined to the appointed representatives, but open to every member of the Society in the area.

This system, he continued, may not be without significance for the further development of democracy in the future.

A New Industry Comes to Town

Seven years ago a small group of youths commenced training in furniture-making in one of the most derelict of the distressed areas of South Wales. They were pioneers of a new industry, for Brynmawr furniture is now widely recognized as being of a higher order of craftsmanship and worthy of comparison with the finest British productions.

On Thursday, Mrs. Neville Chamberlain opened the London showroom of the Brynmawr Furniture Makers, Ltd., in Cavendish Square.

Men employed in this industry are paid trade union rates of wages, and profits are devoted entirely to increasing the number of men employed.

Published from Editorial and Publishing Offices, 17 Featherstone Buildings, London, W.C.1, by "Peace News" Ltd (registered office, 96, Regent Street, London, W.1), and printed for them by The Walthamstow Press, Ltd. (T.U.), Guardian House, Forest Road, London, E.17.

STOP PRESS